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Central City Housing or Central City Living?

A study of how statutory and non-statutory planning provisions address the tensions around urban intensification

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A Dissertation

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Leah McEnhill

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Abstract of a Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Planning.

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Leah McEnhill

Calls for more compact, higher-density cities have been increasing due to concerns about the sustainability of urban areas. However, policies aiming to achieve higher-density urban areas have often faced significant opposition from residents who feel that such developments will not meet their needs. As a result of such opposition, it has been suggested that a more collaborative planning approach is required to ensure that higher-density developments are also liveable. In light of these calls for greater collaboration, this research aimed to examine the nature of collaboration needed to better address tensions around urban intensification. To do this, the research examined the nature of collaboration currently used for planning in a Christchurch neighbourhood known as the Inner City East. The research then examined the extent to which planning was addressing tensions around urban intensification in the Inner City East. The results from this research indicated that current planning approaches were not always achieving urban intensification that supported good community outcomes or met the needs of Inner City East residents. This was seen to be due to a number of factors including a lack of coordination between plans, and a strong focus on the natural and physical environment. The results of this research supported the notion that planning for urban intensification could benefit from the use of a more collaborative approach. Specifically, it was found that a collaborative approach that enabled deliberation and discussion both within and between governments, communities, and other stakholders could help to achieve more coordinated, place-specific plans, and more liveable and widely accepted forms of urban intensification. This research also identified placemaking as a concept that could be of particular use in relation to planning for urban intensification. This is due to its ability to bring governments, communities, and other stakeholders together to integrate various agendas and to develop a shared sense of place, whilst also helping to form relationships between groups and to build collective decision-making capacity.

Keywords: Urban intensification, urban planning, sustainable cities, urban sustainability, compact cities, collaborative planning, collaborative governance, placemaking, plan coordination.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Problem definition

In recent decades, in both New Zealand and abroad, there has been a growing concern regarding the environmental, social, and economic sustainability of cities, particularly as the size of cities, both in terms of their population and land area, continue to increase (Crommelin, Bunker, Troy, Easthope, & Pinnegar, 2017). In response to these concerns a myriad of different, but similarly oriented ideas have been proposed, all of which are broadly based around urban intensification and the notion that future development ought to be focussed within existing urban areas, encouraging higher-density and mixed-use development, whilst avoiding further urban sprawl where possible (Bibri, Krogstie, & Kärrholm, 2020; Buxton & Tieman, 2004; Crommelin et al., 2007).

It has been suggested that urban intensification can be used to address a number of existing and impending sprawl related issues such as increasing car dependency and increased fuel emissions, inefficient use of infrastructure (Davison, 2011), the loss of versatile soils and productive land, the loss of rural character, inner city decline or degradation, poor public transport access, and a lack of walkability (Howley, Scott, & Redmond, 2009; Vallance, Perkins, & Moore, 2005). In addition to helping address these aforementioned issues, it is also commonly suggested that urban intensification can help to bring about other positive changes. These include increased social interaction, reduced costs for new infrastructure (Bibri et al., 2020), increases in housing choice and affordability, increased vibrancy and social diversity (Buxton & Tieman, 2004), better access to goods and services, higher levels of safety within the city through informal surveillance, and greater economic benefits for businesses due to the increase in local population size (Vallance et al., 2005).

In order to harness the positive outcomes of urban intensification whilst also addressing some of the significant issues that urban areas are facing, it is suggested that many local government bodies have begun adopting policies that support the development of compact or sustainable cities (Bibri et al., 2020; Howley et al., 2009). However, it is argued that the residential preferences and needs of many of the individuals in these urban environments do not always correspond with these policy agendas and outputs, which tend to be heavily focussed on physical form, particularly the provision of higher-density developments (Davison, 2017; Howley et al., 2009). What is unclear is whether this variance between outputs and resident preferences is due to a lack of focus on, or understanding of residential needs and wants, a lack of jurisdiction or resources to meet these requirements, a lack of

communication and cooperation with different interest groups and stakeholders, or perhaps a combination of some or all of these things. This raises questions about the kind of planning methodologies and approaches that might be used to resolve some of these tensions.

Collaborative planning is one such method that has been championed as a way of addressing and overcoming differences in views or opinions (Davison, 2011; Healey, 1998) and could perhaps help to address some of the issues outlined above, such as a lack of council knowledge, resources, or clear communication with interested or affected parties. In recent decades there has been a shift in planning theory, from a top-down approach focussed primarily on physical design to a more collaborative approach focussed on the process of planning through communication and consensus-building (Rosol, 2014; Vallance, Edwards, Conradson, & Karaminejad, 2019). It is purported that through such debate-centred, deliberative planning processes, new solutions can be developed and decisions that would otherwise have been highly controversial can gain legitimacy and broad support (Davison, 2011; Norman & Sinclair, 2014; Vallance, Perkins, & Dixon, 2009). Aside from achieving desired outputs and outcomes, it has also been advised that collaborative planning processes can have a range of positive effects, such as helping to increase capabilities within the community, helping to build relationships within and between different groups or communities, and helping to broaden the views of all involved parties (Davison, 2011; Vallance et al., 2019).

Given the current challenges faced by residents, councils and developers in areas targeted for intensification in New Zealand, it has been suggested that a more collaborative, participatory approach may be useful for addressing conflicts and concerns and developing more mutually agreed upon solutions (Christchurch City Council, 2017b; Te Whare Roimata Trust, n.d.b.; Vallance et al., 2019). However, if collaboration is the preferred approach, it raises questions about what and who might be involved, at what stages of the planning process.

1.2 Research question

Recognising the various issues relating to urban intensification, and the range of plans and projects impacting on such developments, this research aims to explore the nature of collaboration required to address tensions around urban intensification. This analysis is not limited to who should be involved but also ‘what’, particularly if we consider how statutory and non-statutory planning provisions align to address the significant and diverse tensions around urban intensification. In order to achieve this aim, this research will focus on an area of Christchurch known as the Inner City East neighbourhood, where the local community are leading the development of a non-statutory community-led plan in partnership with the Christchurch City Council. Within this broader objective are a number of specific questions to be answered, these are:

- What are the current tensions around urban intensification in the Inner City East
- What forms of collaboration are currently being employed for planning in the Inner City East? Are these forms of collaboration helping to address current tensions?
- How might planning in the Inner City East be improved?

1.3 Overview of the dissertation structure

Following this introductory chapter, chapter 2 provides a critical review of the current literature on urban sustainability, urban intensification, and collaborative planning. This is done in order to gain an understanding of the motivations behind urban intensification, as well as the challenges posed by it, and the possible ways to address or overcome these challenges. Chapter 3 provides an overview of Christchurch's Inner City East area, detailing its recent history and examining some of the core challenges it is currently facing. Chapter 4 describes the methods used to undertake this research and details any changes that were made as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic. Chapter 5 provides an analysis of the statutory and non-statutory planning tools currently impacting on the Inner City East area. Chapter 6 then details the findings from primary data collection, followed by chapter 7, which provides a detailed analysis and discussion on these findings. Finally, chapter 8 presents a summary of the research findings and examines the practical and theoretical implications of these findings. Chapter 8 also highlights areas which could benefit from further research in the future.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter critically reviews the existing literature on urban intensification. It begins by investigating some of the main motivations behind urban intensification and then examines the main issues or challenges posed by such intensification. Finally, the chapter explores some of the ways in which such challenges can or are being addressed and overcome.

2.2 Sustainable cities

The notion of the sustainable city has become increasingly popular in recent years, due to a range of different environmental, economic, and social concerns (Crommelin et al., 2017; Howley et al., 2009; Vallance, 2003). However, what is meant by the notion of the *sustainable city* can vary significantly, with some proponents of sustainable cities focussing primarily on the need to safeguard the natural environment, whilst others focus on the need for continued economic growth, or the need for healthy, safe, and connected communities (Turvey, 2017; Vallance, Perkins, Bowring, & Dixon, 2011a).

A study undertaken in Christchurch in 2011 found that when interviewing national and local body politicians, and architects about their understanding of urban sustainability, the majority of respondents focussed on sustainability of the natural environment whilst neglecting the social and economic aspects of sustainability (Vallance et al., 2011a). This focus on the natural and physical environment is perhaps not surprising given that the Resource Management Act, a key piece of legislation that informs numerous plans and policies, is also purported to have a strong focus on the natural and physical environment (Vallance et al., 2011a).

It is argued that having such a narrow focus on the sustainability of the natural and physical environment, with limited focus on the other social, cultural, and economic concerns, is problematic for a number of reasons (Davison, 2017; Vallance et al., 2011a). Firstly, it is argued that in failing to recognise the interconnectedness of the environment, economy, and society, this narrow approach forgoes the opportunity to integrate different but interrelated aspects of urban sustainability (Vallance et al., 2011a). Secondly, it is suggested that it ignores the fact that for something to be truly sustainable, it needs to be sustainable across all areas, not just environmentally sustainable (Vallance et al., 2011a). Thirdly, it argued that such an approach can be used to justify physical planning

outcomes that are restrictive and exclusionary, reflecting a specific, narrow view of what is considered to be acceptable or desirable (Davison, 2017).

2.2.1 Social sustainability

Urban intensification is often viewed as being more environmentally sustainable, as it can prevent the loss of versatile soils, and reduce car dependency, and thus reduce emissions (Boon, 2010; Howley et al., 2009; Neuman, 2005). It is also promoted as a way of decreasing the cost and increasing the efficiency of infrastructure and service provisions such as rubbish collection, water supply, telecommunications services, and emergency services (Boon, 2010; Howley et al., 2009). However, it is commonly found that people, though they may like the notion of protecting productive land and reducing congestion, often do not want to live in or near higher-density housing, instead preferring to live in a detached house in the suburbs (Jones Lang LaSalle Incorporated, 2018; McDonald, 2019). There are many different reasons given for this, with some of the most often cited being the desire for more space and privacy, the desire to live in a quiet neighbourhood, or the belief that higher-density housing is of substandard quality and will thus degrade the character and value of the neighbourhood (Ruming, 2014; Vallance et al., 2005).

It is suggested that, in such instances where the majority of city residents do not want to live in or near higher-density developments, it is unlikely that developments could be considered socially sustainable (Vallance et al., 2009). This is because it is thought that residents with the means to leave will leave, and only the disadvantaged will remain (Vallance et al., 2009). Vallance, Perkins, & Dixon (2011b) have highlighted the importance of recognising these differences between what is good for the bio-physical environment and what people want, suggesting that if this is not recognised, then actions taken in order to promote environmentally sustainable behaviour might inadvertently encourage the opposite. For example, it is suggested that those not wanting to live in high-density central city accommodation may move further out of the city, encouraging the development of a string of “leapfrog towns” (Vallance et al., 2011b), in effect encouraging the sprawl that was initially trying to be prevented. It has also been found that in focussing primarily on physical form as a way to achieve urban sustainability there is a risk of encouraging inequitable and exclusionary planning outcomes that only support a narrow set of interests (Davison, 2017; Neuman, 2005; Vallance et al., 2011a).

However, this is not to say that higher-density developments cannot be liveable. A study from Oslo found that compact, high density urban areas could increase the perceived liveability of an area and also increase residents’ levels of neighbourhood satisfaction (Mouratidis, 2017). Contrary to other studies, and importantly in the context of this research, this study focussed on a broader range of

components that could influence or contribute to a place's liveability. These components included ease of access to the city and availability of public transport and the mixed use of land (Mouratidis, 2017). When these and other components were addressed, it was found that a more compact urban form could achieve greater resident satisfaction than more spread-out or sprawling neighbourhoods (Mouratidis, 2017). This notion that high density developments and liveable urban areas do not have to be mutually exclusive is supported by Howley et al. (2009), who suggest that by placing more emphasis on factors such as the provision of open or green spaces, public amenities, and the promotion of safe, vibrant, attractive streets, it is possible to achieve both higher-density, and liveable urban spaces.

2.2.2 Economic sustainability

It is purported that commercial feasibility also plays an important part in determining whether something will be sustainable. For example, it has been suggested that the undertaking of development in run down urban areas is often unfeasible for developers due to the increased risk, high costs, and the relatively slow speed of economic return, particularly when compared to traditional greenfield developments (Roberts, 2017). Similarly, it has been found that higher-density developments, particularly developments whose plans were drawn up without any form of public engagement, often face significant delays and high costs due to community opposition, which can then impact their feasibility (Forsyth, Nicholls, & Raye, 2010). It is argued that this is not only an issue for developers but also for communities who may need or want new housing options but may not be able to attain them if they are seen to be financially unviable (Forsyth et al., 2010).

Aside from needing to be economically viable for developers, it is thought that urban living also needs to be affordable for residents. It is argued that whilst consumer preference can play an important part in people's housing and locational choices, financial constraints are a greater influence and tend to override consumer preferences (Howley et al., 2009). If urban living is economically unfeasible, whether it is unfeasible for developers or for residents, then it cannot be fully sustainable.

2.2.3 Conflicting sustainabilites

To complicate matters further, it seems that there can also often be conflicting views within the different aspects of sustainability. For example, whilst it is suggested that urban intensification can help achieve environmental sustainability, it can also be argued that such developments can lead to traffic congestion, pollution, and a reduction in urban green spaces (Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2007). Similarly, there are also conflicting ideas about the economic impacts of urban intensification. For example, some suggest it can result in positive economic outcomes by improving infrastructure

efficiency and increasing the local consumer market, whilst other suggest that the prevention of further greenfield developments contributes to increasingly unaffordable house prices (Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2007; Preval, Chapman, & Howden-Chapman, 2010). These contradictory views create a further challenge for planners and policy-makers wanting to support the development of more sustainable cities.

2.2.4 Nuanced approach to sustainability

As was highlighted above, it has been suggested that overseas examples of attempts to achieve urban sustainability have often focussed on the need to create more high-density developments to achieve a more sustainable pattern of development (Howley et al., 2009). However, it is now argued that a more nuanced approach is required, with less of a focus on physical form, and more of a focus on the interconnected economic, environmental, and social factors that contribute to a city's overall level of sustainability (Howley et al., 2009; Mouratidis, 2017). This means that as well as paying attention to physical form, it is argued that it is also important to consider factors such as safety, accessibility (Mouratidis, 2017), sense of neighbourhood identity (Allen, Haarhoff, Beattie, & McKay, 2018), and the attractiveness of streets (Howley et al., 2009). Given the broad range of factors that are thought to contribute to, or detract from a city's degree of sustainability, it raises the question, what type of planning should or should not be taken in order to help achieve more sustainable cities?

2.3 Planning for urban intensification

Howley et al. (2009) suggest that, with the market allowing developers and residents to exercise their locational choice, combined with relatively cheap private transport costs, good transport infrastructure, and short commuting times, urban areas are continuing to sprawl. This pattern of continued sprawl has led national and local governments to consider their options for promoting urban intensification (Vallance et al., 2005). As highlighted above, it seems there is a need to recognise and provide for all aspects of sustainability, rather than those focussing primarily on environmental sustainability and the physical form of cities. However, this can be challenging, particularly in the New Zealand context where a wide range of public and private actors are responsible for the provision of various goods, services, and infrastructure that can contribute to more liveable and sustainable cities (Boon, 2010).

It is suggested that one of the challenges for integrating the various factors that contribute to a city's degree of sustainability stems from the way in which different planning tools are responsible for addressing different issues and achieving different purposes (CCC, 2016; RMRP, 2020). For example, the Resource Management Act 1991 is a key piece of regulation informing planning in New Zealand, and its purpose is to achieve the sustainable management of the natural and physical environment

(Vallance et al., 2011a). The RMA informs a number of planning tools which are responsible for helping achieve this purpose, including District Plans, which are responsible for regulating the types of land use and building form allowed in different areas or zones (Boon, 2010). In contrast, the Local Government Act 2002 is another key act informing planning in New Zealand, and its purpose is to promote the social, cultural, economic, and environmental wellbeing of communities (Vallance et al., 2011a). The LGA informs a number of planning tools including Long Term Plans, which are responsible for determining what infrastructure and services are to be provided in different areas (CCC, 2018).

Aside from national and local governments, there are also a wide range of actors such as private developers, investors, business owners, and banks, who are thought to have a significant influence on urban intensification (Boon, 2010). Given this wide range of actors involved in the provision of goods and services and capital, and the management of land use and urban form, it seems important to consider if or how these various actors, and the various legislation and plans they develop, 'talk' to one another. It also seems important to consider if or how they each 'talk' to or engage with the public, who are often the intended consumers or the most affected parties.

It has been suggested that in Western societies, there has been a tendency for governments at the national and local level to keep individual policy fields separate from one another, with different sectors focussing on specific issues (Healey, 1999; McCarthy, Grant, & Habib, 2019). These different sectors or departments are thought to have their own sets of interests or motivations, which may impact on and compete with one another (McCarthy et al., 2019). It is suggested that such sectoral separation can contribute to a number of issues, including the development of conflicting or contradictory plans that fail to acknowledge the interconnected nature of issues (Healey, 1999; McCarthy et al., 2019). This siloed development of plans is also thought to result in the establishment of unachievable goals objectives, as not all influential factors are recognised or considered (McCarthy et al., 2019).

In order to address some of these issues with the integration of various issues, and the coordination of planning tools, it has been suggested that a more collaborative planning approach be employed (Healey, 1999; McCarthy et al., 2019). This includes collaboration between different departments and levels of government, in order to achieve more coordinated plans (McCarthy et al., 2019; New Zealand Planning Institute, 2020) and collaboration between the government, the public, and other stakeholders, in order to achieve more comprehensive, holistic, and widely supported plans and policies (Davison, 2011; Healey, 1999). Healey's (1998) notion of placemaking emphasises the importance of this integration and the need for a collaborative planning approach. The following

sections will examine ideas around collaborative planning and placemaking in more detail, and specifically how they may be employed in relation to planning for urban intensification.

2.4 Collaborative planning

In recent decades there has been a shift in planning practice and theory, from top-down planning approaches where planners 'decide-consult-defend' to more participatory approaches where planners, the public, and other stakeholders 'engage-deliberate-decide' (Rosol, 2014; Vallance et al., 2019). This shift reflects a change in thinking, from the view that there is a 'unitary' public good that planners can know and help realise, to the view that the contemporary world is highly complex, comprising of multiple publics, and no single public good (Healey, 2010; Lane, 2006). It is now suggested that planners and policy-makers on their own cannot be expected to know or understand all of these complexities and thus there is a need for collaboration with different stakeholders in order to gain a broader understanding of various issues and how they relate to or impact one another (Healey, 1998, 2010).

In recognition of these differences, collaborative planning approaches aim to engage the public in the decision-making process so that affected parties can share their different perceptions and interests, learn from and better understand one another, collectively evolve ideas, and develop solutions through debate and deliberation (Healey, 2010; Lane, 2006). It is suggested that through such a deliberative process, different views, interests, and concerns can be discussed and tensions or conflicts can be understood and addressed through discussion and negotiation (Davison, 2011; Lane, 2006). For collaborative approaches, it is suggested that the role of planners is to be knowledge brokers, and that the legitimacy of decisions is largely determined by the degree of support received from affected or interested parties (Vallance et al., 2009). This is in contrast to traditional forms of top-down planning where planners were often treated as omnipotent decision-makers, and the legitimacy of decisions was determined based on scientific or technical validity (Vallance et al., 2009).

It is also suggested that collaborative planning approaches allow for better integration of social, economic, and environmental agendas as the inclusion of a broader range of views and knowledge can contribute to more comprehensive, balanced decision-making (Healey, 1998). In this way, collaborative approaches also acknowledge and allow for the fact that planners, policy-makers and other decisions makers are not always aware of the specific qualities of places, or of the complex processes occurring within them (Healey, 1998). As was highlighted in sections 2.2 and 2.3, understanding these complex processes, and recognising the ways in which different issues are interconnected and affected by one another, has been a challenge, and a barrier for achieving urban intensification in the past.

2.4.1 Criticisms of collaborative planning

Though there are many benefits to be gained through the use of collaborative planning, it is argued that collaborative planning approaches can also have a range of negative impacts. One common criticism of collaborative planning approaches is that they can be overly reliant on the use of rational argument to manipulate and persuade community members to accept certain decisions (Lane, 2006; Rosol, 2014). It is suggested that this is problematic in that it can result in the prioritisation of certain kinds of knowledge, such as scientific information, over others forms of knowledge (Rosol, 2014), for example, local experiential knowledge, or matauranga Maori. It is also suggested that, through the framing of issues, it is possible to steer those involved in collaborative processes away from certain actions and direct them towards others, thus again manipulating participants in order to support certain interests and achieve certain goals (Rosol, 2014). These criticisms are in line with Young's (2001) suggestion that it can be difficult, if not impossible, to avoid power imbalances and the promotion of self-interest in deliberative processes. As a result of these power imbalances, it is argued that such collaborative processes can work to support existing structural inequalities and promote the interests of the elite (Young, 2001).

Aside from concerns around the balance of power, and the actual ability of the public to influence decision-making, there are also concerns around the number of resources required to undertake collaborative processes. It is suggested that collaborative planning processes can have high transaction costs, as they tend to require significant resource (AbouAssi et al., 2013). As AbouAssi et al. (2013) highlight, this includes the resources of governments and community members, both of which may want to engage in the collaborative process but may not have access to the required forms technology, knowledge, time, or other resources.

2.4.2 Collaborative planning and urban intensification

Due to the often-contentious nature of urban intensification, collaborative planning approaches have been promoted as a method for gaining greater public support for urban intensification whilst also increasing the legitimacy of decision-making (Davison, 2011; Vallance et al., 2009) and enabling more comprehensive and integrated decision-making (Healey, 1998). With proposals to build more environmentally sustainable, higher-density, mixed-use developments often facing significant opposition from local neighbourhood residents, a number of studies have shown how collaborative planning can be used to help overcome concerns and hostility. It is suggested that by including communities in the decision-making process, conflicting views can be addressed, consensus can be built, residents' needs can be met, and community trust and support can be gained, resulting in a more sustainable form of decision-making (Beattie & Haarhoff, 2014; Davison, 2011; Rosol, 2014).

Davison (2011) provides a useful example of how a collaborative planning approach was used in Vancouver to help address community opposition to the development of higher-density buildings in an established neighbourhood. Members of the community, who expressed their concerns about how the character of the neighbourhood could be negatively impacted, initially contested the project (Davison, 2011). However, following a period of debate-centred, participatory planning involving the local community, planners, architects, and developers, it was agreed that the high-rise development could go ahead, with residents eventually requesting higher-density developments than originally proposed in exchange for the provision of certain services and infrastructure (Davison, 2011). It is purported that by establishing what people valued most, and what funding and other resources the council and developers did or did not have access to, it was possible for different interest groups to compromise and develop a form of urban intensification that best met their collective needs (Davison, 2011).

A similar occurrence can be seen from a study in Canberra (Norman & Sinclair, 2014). The study found that, when developing a draft planning strategy to replace the existing spatial plan, the Australian Capital Territory Government employed an in-depth community engagement strategy (Norman & Sinclair, 2014). It was suggested that this engagement strategy resulted in broad community support for a more compact, higher density city that acknowledged the importance of good urban design, amenity, and mobility (Norman & Sinclair, 2014). Again this suggests that, if the community are engaged throughout the decision making process and their views are genuinely heard and acknowledged, it is possible develop plans for urban intensification that are seen to meet communities' diverse needs and thus gain their support (Norman & Sinclair, 2014).

As well as helping to recognise differences in opinion and overcome conflicts, it is also suggested that the process of collaborative planning itself can have a number of positive external effects (Davison, 2011). For example, it has been suggested that collaborative planning approaches can help build relationships within communities, and also to help build relationships between communities and other groups of people or organisations, including councillors and council staff (AbouAssi, Nabatchi, & Antoun, 2013; Davison, 2011; Vallance et al., 2019). This is particularly noteworthy given the findings that existing residents often express concerns around urban intensification due to the perceived negative impacts that it can have on levels of community connectedness (Vallance, 2003). It is suggested that collaborative planning approaches can also help communities to develop new knowledge, skills, and social capital, as community members take on different roles and responsibilities (AbouAssi et al., 2013; Davison, 2011; Vallance et al., 2019). As well as positively impacting community relationships, knowledge, and skills, collaborative planning approaches are also thought to benefit groups outside of the community, such as planners and architects, who can

gain new knowledge and new insight into community values, concerns, and aspirations (AbouAssi et al., 2013; Davison, 2011; Forsyth et al., 2010).

2.4.3 Types of collaborative planning

There are a variety of ways in which the public and other interested stakeholders can be involved in collaborative planning processes, with different forms of engagement producing different outputs and outcomes. In terms of collaborative planning for urban intensification, a number of suggestions have been made as to what kinds of public participation and engagement ought to be used. Several studies have highlighted the need to involve the public, alongside other interest groups such as developers, architects, businesses and government, as partners in the decision-making process (Gallent & Twedwr-Jones, 2007; Roberts, 2017). It has also been argued that participation must enable genuine opportunities for participants to influence decisions, avoiding the use of 'cosmetic adjustments' and the manipulation of participants (Lane, 2006; Vallance et al., 2009). Friedmann (2010) has purported that community engagement must be carried out in good faith, and that all those engaged in the process must be treated as equals in order to enable genuine dialogue between community members and governments. Similarly, Vallance et al. (2009) have suggested that participation also needs to allow for dialogue and debate, enabling communication and learning in all directions. This notion is supported by Davison's (2011) example of collaborative planning for urban intensification in Vancouver, where deliberative discussion was used to enable all participants to express their views, concerns, and ideas, and to collectively decide on an acceptable form of urban intensification.

Another description of collaboration is detailed in the International Association for Public Participation's (2018) spectrum of public participation. This spectrum describes the role of the public in different decision-making processes, with the impact that the public have on the decision-making increasing along the spectrum (IAP2, 2018). As can be seen in figure 1 on the following page, different forms of public participation are placed along a continuum with the impact of public participation on decision-making increasing along the continuum, the order of which is: inform, consult, involve, collaborate, empower (IAP2, 2018). The spectrum does not propose that there is one correct level of public participation for all situations. Instead, it outlines the different goals associated with each level of participation and the associated promises made to the public at each level of participation (IAP2, 2018). It is suggested that the level of public participation required is determined by a range of factors including project scale and complexity, timeframe, availability of resources, and stakeholder interests (AbouAssi et al., 2013).

As detailed in figure 1, the spectrum states that when using 'collaborate' as a form of public participation, the goal is to partner with the public throughout the decision-making process. The promise to the public is that they will be looked to for advice, which will be incorporated into the decision-making as much as possible (IAP2, 2018). This notion of collaboration supports the view expressed by Gallent and Twedwr-Jones (2007) and Roberts (2017), that participants need to be treated as partners in the decision-making process, and it also supports Davison (2011) and Vallance et al.'s (2009) view that the public need to be included throughout the decision-making process and that there ought to be communication and learning in both directions.

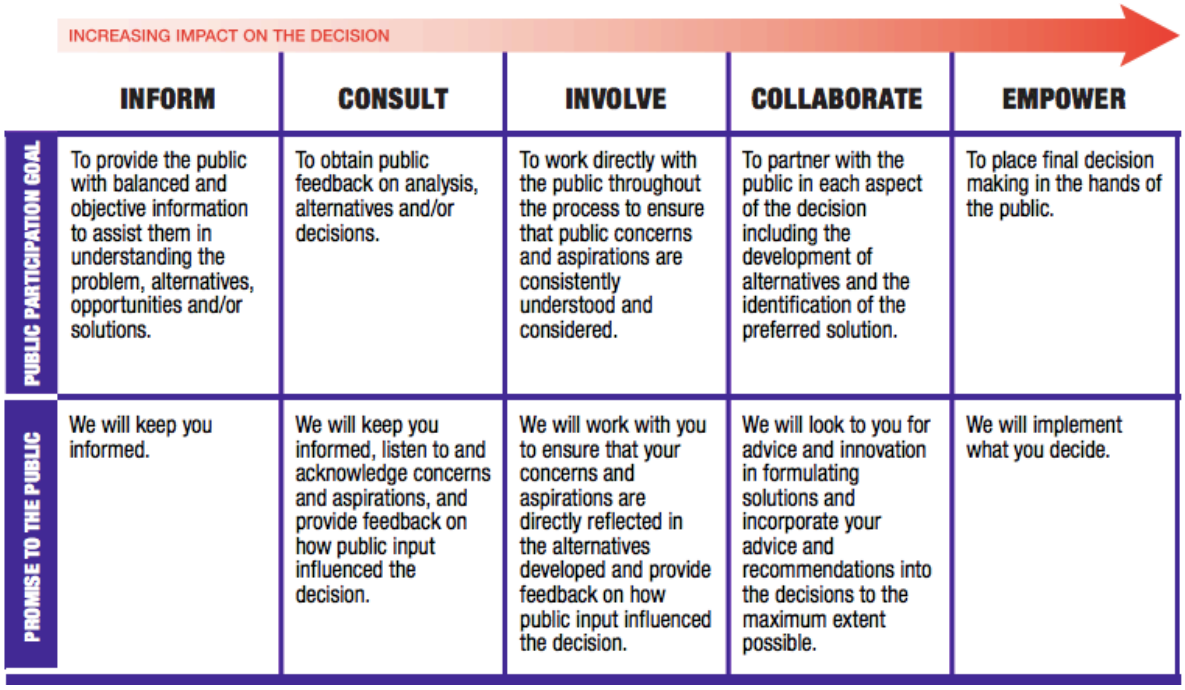

Figure 1. IAP2 Spectrum of Public Participation

(Source: IAP2, 2018)

Though the spectrum of public participation is useful for determining the type of public engagement employed, and the subsequent promise to the public, it does not address the need for collaboration within local or national governments, instead focussing primarily on the level of engagement between the public and decision-makers. As was highlighted above in section 2.3, it is suggested that there is also a need for internal collaboration between different government sectors or departments, so as to ensure that plans not only meet the needs of the community but also align with one another. It is purported that, if they are not coordinated, then plans may not be able to achieve their objectives (McCarthy et al., 2019) and thus, even if the plans recognise and support the community's needs, they may not be able to meet these needs.

The notion of placemaking, however, recognises both the need for collaboration between different groups and within different groups and thus may be of relevance for achieving more liveable forms of urban intensification. This notion will be explored further in the following section.

2.5 Placemaking

Linked to the notion of collaborative planning is the notion of placemaking. Though there are a range of different definitions for what placemaking entails and what it aims to achieve, there is a general view that placemaking involves the shaping or remaking of places in order to make them more liveable and desirable, and to create a collective sense of place (Sweeney, Mee, McGuirk, & Ruming, 2018; Teder, 2017). It is suggested that the specific process used in placemaking will vary depending on the place in which placemaking is to occur (Sweeney et al., 2018). However, there is a general understanding that the process should involve the people who use or inhabit the place that is to be shaped (Friedmann, 2010; Sweeney et al., 2018; Teder, 2017). This is thought to be an important step for determining how people perceive and interact with place and for understanding how places could be improved to better meet people's needs (Sweeney et al., 2018).

The current need for such placemaking in urban areas across the world is said to be due to a number of factors (Friedmann, 2010). For example, it is suggested that, due to technological developments and increased mobility, places are becoming increasingly fluid, diverse, and physically disconnected (Friedmann, 2010). This is thought to be challenging or decreasing people's sense of place and sense of community (Friedmann, 2010). It is also suggested that, due to a tendency of local governments to focus their attention on city branding and development to attract business and capital, the quality of places has decreased, as has their ability to meet people's needs (Friedmann, 2010). In order to address these issues and improve people's sense of belonging and community, as well as their sense of satisfaction with their place of residence, it has been suggested that a process of placemaking be undertaken (Friedmann, 2010).

This notion of the need to better recognise and meet the needs of city residents links to the challenges faced with recent approaches to urban intensification, which were criticised for their focus on physical design and their lack of attention to other important factors that also influenced the liveability and thus sustainability of a place. Similarly, the view that it is important to have a sense of place and collective identity also links to urban intensification. As was highlighted in section 2.2, the development of a collective sense of place and identity was also thought to be important for achieving successful higher-density neighbourhoods, alongside the provision of liveability enhancing amenities (Allen et al., 2018).

Aside from helping to overcome conflict and to develop a shared sense of place, the process of placemaking itself is also thought to have a number of positive impacts on communities, businesses, developers, or governments that engage in the process. For example, it is thought that the process of placemaking can help to build relationships between those involved, increase social capital, and help to develop institutional capacity (Healey, 1998). In the longer term, it is purported that these relationships, skills, and abilities can help to increase collaboration, reduce conflict, enable faster decision-making, and reduce costs for those involved in the placemaking process (Healey, 1998).

Though there are thought to be many benefits to be had from placemaking, there are also a number of issues or challenges with the concept. For example, it is suggested that the concept of placemaking has in some instances been adopted into neoliberal schemes that are less focussed on community development and more focussed on the development and gentrification of cities (Sweeney et al., 2018). This kind of placemaking is said to be primarily employed in formal processes, rather than community-led, informal processes (Sweeney et al., 2018). It seems that such forms of placemaking, which are not concerned with improving the quality and liveability of places for existing residents, would not be useful for helping to address many of the purported issues around urban intensification. These include concerns around the loss of community connectedness, the loss of neighbourhood character, and the loss of appropriate amenity.

However, this is not to say that governments, technical experts, businesses, and other interested or affected parties should not be involved in the placemaking process, rather, it is to say that the community must also be included in the process. For example, Friedmann (2010) argues that placemaking needs to involve a vast range of actors including planners, politicians, and local residents, employing a collaborative and people-centred approach to placemaking that acknowledges people's "right to local citizenship" (Friedmann, 2010, p.159). Similarly, Sweeney et al. (2018) also suggest that there is a need to engage the many different actors who will continue to engage with the places being shaped. This is in recognition of the fact that these will be the people who, through their engagement with place, will continue to remake or shape it (Sweeney et al., 2018). This notion of including a range of different interested or affected parties in the placemaking process aligns well with the notion of collaborative planning. Specifically, the belief that urban planning and urban intensification can be improved through the engagement of many actors with different knowledge and different ideas and concerns, which can be discussed in order to develop a more collectively held vision for a place, and to develop more coordinated, holistic plans and policies.

2.6 Summary

It seems that attempts to achieve more compact, higher-density urban form as a way of making cities more sustainable, are sometimes neglecting to consider the people who do, or in future will inhabit

such places. By adopting a more collaborative planning approach, it is suggested that it may be possible to achieve more environmentally sustainable, higher-density urban form whilst also ensuring that cities provide for a range of other factors that contribute to a place's desirability and liveability. This includes both the need for collaboration between community members, local and national government, developers, and other stakeholders, as well as collaboration within local and national levels of government. In light of these findings, this research will aim to explore the nature of collaboration being employed in planning in the Inner City East area, and will examine how this collaboration is addressing the tensions around urban intensification.

Chapter 3

Background

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides background information on Christchurch City, and in particular the area known as Inner City East. It begins with a description of the core social, cultural, environmental, and economic changes that have occurred in the area in recent decades, and is then followed by an examination of the current issues facing the area, particularly those relating to urban intensification. Lastly, this chapter looks at the various statutory and non-statutory planning tools currently impacting on the Inner City East area.

3.2 Christchurch City living

Even prior to the Christchurch earthquakes, the Christchurch City Council, along with local business groups, were said to have been working to encourage more people to reside in the central city (Roberts, 2017). It was thought that an increased population could help to revitalise the central city, bringing more vibrancy to the city and also increasing the customer base of central city businesses (Roberts, 2017). Following the earthquakes in 2010 and 2011, much of the central city was uninhabitable and inaccessible, creating greater barriers in the promotion of central city living. Over eight years on from the earthquakes, the central city is still experiencing the impact on its population, with a 2018 report stating that the resident population was at around 6,000 people, a third lower than pre-earthquake levels (Property Council NZ, 2018).

In an effort to encourage more people to reside in the Central City, the city council has established Project 8011, named after the Central City postcode, and the estimated number of new houses required to accommodate the target population of 20,000 (Yardley, 2019). The main goals for the central city project, which was developed in 2018, are to have more people, more housing choice, and highly liveable neighbourhoods, and also to encourage, support, and accelerate housing development in the city (CCC, n.d.d.). The Council has stated that this is to be achieved by "working together with their partners, developers, landowners, and public agencies" to deliver a range of projects and activities (CCC, n.d.d.). It is unclear why 'communities' or 'residents' have been left out of this statement.

3.3 Current issues

In Christchurch, as in other urban centres overseas, one of the current issues faced when trying to encourage central city living stems from an apparent disconnect between what is being provided by the council and market, and what potential residents want and need. Former Councillor James Gough has purported that statistics show there is a demand for central city living but that resident's preferences do not match the types of housing that are currently being provided (Law, 2019). Similarly, Treasury has suggested that houses and units recently built in the central city's east frame as part of a Crown-run rebuild project aiming to house around 2,200, are at odds with what would-be homebuyers want (McDonald, 2019; Nahkies & Dean, 2017). This is of particular concern given that the east frame project was intended to increase confidence in the central city and act as a catalyst for other new residential developments (JLL, 2018).

These higher-density developments have also been a cause of concern for existing residents who fear that these developments degrade the character of the neighbourhood and also negatively impact on the amenity and liveability of the area (Yardley, 2019). Additionally, there is concern that many of these new central city developments are being marketed as potential Airbnb accommodation, meaning that they are not going to be helping to address urban sprawl, and will impact on the sense of community in the area, with only permanent residents having a vested interest in the neighbourhood (Yardley, 2019). These issues have led to the establishment of groups such as the Inner City Action Network (ICAN), a network of residential and business associations wanting to protect the amenities of existing neighbourhoods (Inner City Action Network, n.d.). ICAN (n.d.) have made it clear that though they oppose some recent developments, they would support new developments that are complementary to the existing neighbourhood and help to enhance it.

Having established some of the key issues around urban intensification in Christchurch city, the following section will now focus on a particular Christchurch neighbourhood known as the Inner City East. The section will first examine some of the significant changes that have taken place in the area in recent years, and will then explore the issues that the area has been facing in regard to urban intensification and community members' responses to these challenges.

3.4 Inner City East

The Inner City East area is located within the 8011 central city postcode and stretches east from Madras Street to Linwood Ave, bordered by Cashel Street on the South, and Kilmore Street and Avonside Drive to the North, as can be seen in figure 2 (Inner City East Revitalisation Plan Working Group, n.d.; Kane & Smith, 2013). It has been suggested that this area has undergone significant

change in the last 30 years, starting with the establishment of poorly designed new developments with a lack of amenities in the 1990s, which is said to have negatively impacted the existing residents and harmed the character of the area (ICERPWG, n.d.). This was then followed by the loss of a number of important services in the early 2000s due to the establishment of a number of shopping malls in the wider area (ICERPWG, n.d.). The Christchurch earthquakes in 2010 and 2011 resulted in further loss, with around 60% of the remaining shops in Linwood Village destroyed, and over 300 bedsit rooms lost, the vast majority of which were not rebuilt (ICERPWG, n.d.; Law, 2017; Vallance et al., 2019).

Figure 2. Map of the Inner City East neighbourhood

(Source: ICERPWG, n.d.)

In 2012, in response to the impacts of the earthquakes, the city council developed the Linwood Master Plan (CCC, 2012; Law, 2017; Vallance et al., 2019). However, it has been suggested that this top-down, market-focused approach was not achieving the community's desired outcomes and was instead leading to sporadic, uneven development, that was generally more expensive, higher-density, and lacking in outdoor space (CCC, 2017b; Law, 2017). For an area with limited parks and greenspaces, supporting a community of predominantly low-income earners, this was seen as a significant problem that needed addressing (CCC, 2017b). It is suggested that in response to these issues community members decided to take the problem into their own hands, believing that a more collaborative approach was required to meet the needs of the community, and to overcome the multiple, interconnected issues facing the area (Vallance et al., 2019).

Te Whare Roimata, a bi-cultural, treaty-based, grassroots community group that has been working within the Inner City East community for over 30 years, approached the Christchurch City Council to ask if they would work in partnership with them to develop a community-led revitalisation plan for the area (Law, 2017; Te Whare Roimata Trust, n.d.a.; Vallance et al., 2019). In October 2017, the council subsequently approved the proposed process for the plan's development, allowing Te Whare Roimata to lead the revitalisation of the Inner City East in partnership with the city council and national government (Law, 2017). In support of this undertaking, Christchurch Mayor Lianne Dalziel stated that "communities aren't problems to be solved, they are people that require additional support in order to achieve, but they need to lead the process" (CCC, 2017d).

With a range of statutory and non-statutory tools impacting the Inner City East area, one of the challenges for the community will be navigating the different possibilities and opportunities that these tools afford as well as the conditions or limitations they place on the community as they develop their revitalisation plan in partnership with the Christchurch City Council.

The following chapter will outline the research methods and data analysis used to undertake this study, including the changes made to the research methods, and the broader research programme, as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Chapter 4

Methods

4.1 Overview

The primary aim of this research was to examine the nature of collaboration being employed for planning in the Inner City East, and to assess the extent to which the statutory and non-statutory planning tools, which this collaboration informed, were collectively addressing the tensions around urban intensification. This aim denotes a descriptive form of research where the purpose was not to test or prove a hypothesis but instead to examine and communicate how current forms of collaboration were informing different planning tools, and to explore the impacts that these various planning tools were having on the Inner City East (Leavy, 2014). To achieve this aim I adopted a qualitative research approach, employing a combination of secondary data collection, through the use of existing resources, and primary data collection, through the analysis of plans and policies, and through the undertaking of semi-structured interviews. This qualitative research approach was chosen in order to obtain rich, descriptive data which could then be used to develop greater insight into, and understanding of places, processes, and perceptions (Silva, Healey, Harris, & Van den Broeck, 2015). Semi-structured interviews were used in order to identify emergent themes whilst also ensuring that there was a degree of continuity between interviews (Silva et al., 2015). In this particular instance, the aim was to gain further insight into, and understanding of how the various planning tools currently at play in the Inner City East were jointly addressing issues relating to urban intensification.

4.2 Collection and analysis of secondary data, policies, and plans

The first step in achieving this aim was to undertake an analysis of existing secondary data, such as journal articles, public submissions, and reports, from a broad range of sources on the topics including urban intensification, compact cities, sustainable cities, collaborative planning, communicative planning, and placemaking. This approach, known as content analysis, was used in order to rigorously, systematically and unobtrusively analyse secondary data (Leavy, 2014). Within the broad range of information relating to topics such as urban intensification, specific attention was paid to Christchurch City, where the city council and developers had been working to encourage more residents into the central city for over a decade.

Informed by this analysis of secondary data, I then selected Christchurch's Inner City East area as a case study for this research. The area was chosen due to a number of factors including its central city

location and its recent challenges with housing intensification. It was also chosen because there was a wide range of statutory and non-statutory planning tools currently impacting on the area, and because of the recent adoption of a community-led planning approach to revitalisation in the area. This combination of factors made the Inner City East area, with its array of statutory and non-statutory tools with varying degrees of public engagement and collaboration, a prime case study for answering the study's questions and achieving its overall aim.

Having identified the Inner City East area as a focus for this research, I then undertook a thorough review of the existing statutory and non-statutory planning tools impacting on Christchurch's Inner City East. These documents were collected from the Christchurch City Council website, the Environment Canterbury Regional Council website, the Parliamentary Counsel Office's New Zealand Legislation website, and the Ministry for the Environment's website. I also examined the available literature relating to these various planning tools. Again, the method of content analysis was employed in order to investigate a wide range of documents thoroughly. This analysis was done to establish a general understanding of the history of the Inner City East area, the issues and opportunities it was currently facing, and the various statutory and non-statutory planning provisions presently impacting on the area. I then developed a range of open-ended questions to ask those involved with planning in the Inner City East.

4.3 Collection and analysis of primary data from interviews

Having reviewed existing secondary data, analysed plans and policies, and established a range of interview questions, I then gathered my primary data by carrying out interviews with people involved with planning in the Inner City East and broader Christchurch area. These interviews were used to obtain qualitative data, with the intention that they would provide detailed, in-depth, focussed information on people's perceptions on, and experiences with intensification, and planning in the Inner City East (Silva et al., 2015). A semi-structured interview approach was employed to allow for some flexibility whilst also achieving a degree of continuity so that common or developing themes could be more easily identified (Silva et al., 2015).

These interviews were undertaken with a range of people involved with planning and revitalisation in Christchurch's Inner City East, including urban designers and planners from the Christchurch City Council, and members of local community organisations. Participants were selected due to their specific roles and involvement with the Inner City East area, with some participants selected and approached by myself and others selected and approached using 'snowball' sampling. The main criteria were that participants were over 18 years of age and had experience with and knowledge of the development or implementation of planning tools impacting the Inner City East, or had

experience with and understanding of the Inner City East area and the issues and opportunities it was facing. As it turned out, all interview participants had a degree of awareness and understanding of both the planning tools and the area itself, though this varied between participants.

To account for ethical considerations, all potential interview participants were initially contacted via email, at which point they were provided with a general overview of the project, in order to scope for interest. Respondents who suggested they might be interested in participating were then provided with more detailed information regarding the interview process and the wider project, and were also sent a consent form which allowed them to select the level of anonymity they wanted if their views were to be included in published work and also to choose the ways in which their interview could be recorded. It was required that this informed consent was given, either verbally or in written form, prior to interviews being conducted.

All participants consented to the recording of their interviews which was useful for accurately documenting information provided during interviews. Notes were also taken to supplement the recordings and to provide a substitute if the recordings failed for any reason, though fortunately they did not. It is worth noting that, due to limitations caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, all interviews were carried out remotely, either via Skype or phone call. Once interviews were completed, they were transcribed verbatim. Following transcription, the method of content analysis was once again used in order to identify the key themes, conflicting ideas, interesting or noteworthy points, and areas for further research or questioning. This information was then used in conjunction with the existing secondary data to help answer the research questions and achieve the research aim.

Examples of the interview schedules, research information sheets, consent forms, and scoping emails that were used in this research can be found in Appendix A.

4.4 Limitations

There were a number of limitations to this research, some of which were anticipated and some of which were not. Firstly, as the dissertation was required to be completed within a period of approximately nine months, there was a significant limitation of time. This was an anticipated limitation which impacted both the breadth and depth of the research and meant that it was important to develop a research question that could realistically be answered within this relatively short timeframe.

In contrast, the COVID-19 pandemic and the subsequent limitations it caused were somewhat less anticipated. Following the national ‘lockdown’, when I was beginning to scope out possible interview participants, many people, including both city council staff and community workers, were overrun

with work. As a result of this, a number of potential interviewees advised they were not currently able to participate in the study. However, using snowball sampling, a number of other individuals, with relevant knowledge, experience, and time to participate, were identified.

The occurrence of the COVID-19 pandemic also impacted the way in which interviews could be carried out and meant that all interviews were undertaken remotely, either via Skype or phone call. This may have somewhat impaired data collection, particularly in the case of interviews that were carried out over the phone, given the importance of eye contact and body language, in communicating and guiding conversation (Leavy, 2014; Silva et al., 2015). In order to address this limitation, I began interviews with a brief introduction of myself, followed by a general question about interview participants' backgrounds and current roles, so as to 'break the ice' and ease participants into the interview (Silva et al., 2015).

Chapter 5

Analysis of policies and plans

5.1 Introduction

There are a number of important statutory and non-statutory tools that influence planning in New Zealand, and in Inner City East area in particular. The following chapter will examine some of these core planning tools, examining their scope, purpose, and degree of public engagement. The chapter will begin by examining relevant national planning tools, and will then examine regional and local level planning tools.

5.2 Resource Management Act 1991

The RMA is the primary national-level tool for managing the environment and was established in order to achieve a more comprehensive, integrated approach to environmental management in New Zealand (Ministry for the Environment, 2018). The central purpose of the RMA is to promote the sustainable management of the country's natural and physical resources, both for present and future generations (RMA 1991). To do this, the RMA adopts an effects based focus, concerned with controlling the effects of activities, rather than controlling activities themselves (MfE, 2018).

The RMA provides broad direction on environmental management and allows for, and in one instance requires that, national-level policies to be developed by the central government in order to provide greater guidance or direction regarding significant issues (MfE, 2018). It also requires that local authorities develop local level regulations, such as Regional Policy Statements, Regional Plans, and District Plans, that dictate how their local environment is used and managed. This allows for more context specific planning and also recognises that given local authorities also tend to be the main decision-makers regarding land transport and infrastructure provisions, they are best positioned to develop and integrate these various planning tools (MfE, 2018).

In recent years there has been growing recognition that the RMA is not currently achieving the desired outcomes, both in terms of its management of the built and natural environment, as a result of this the government established the Resource Management Review Panel to carry out a comprehensive assessment of the resource management system (Resource Management Review Panel, 2019). The Resource Management Review Panel (2019) found that the current resource management system was contributing to urban areas' inability to keep up with the rate of population growth, with cities facing increases in land prices, homelessness, traffic congestion, and

environmental pollution, as well as a shortage of housing. It was suggested that this was in part due to the RMA's narrow focus on managing negative impacts, rather than achieving positive outcomes, and a lack of acknowledgement of the possible positive impacts of urban development (RMRP, 2019).

To address these, and other issues the Resource Management Review Panel (2020) recommended that the RMA be replaced by a new Act, called the Natural and Built Environments Act, whose purpose would be "to enhance the quality of the environment to support the wellbeing of present and future generations and to recognise the concept of Te Mana o te Taiao", (RMRP, 2020, p. 23) with Te Mana o te Taiao referring to the importance of maintaining the health of natural resources and their life supporting capacities. This would shift the focus from avoiding or managing negative environmental effects to promoting positive effects on both the natural and built environments whilst also recognising and maintaining the natural environment's capacity to sustain life (RMRP, 2020).

The review also highlighted that there was poor alignment between land use plans, such as Regional Plans or District Plans, and infrastructure plans, such as Long Terms Plans (RMRP, 2019). This was not only in terms of plan content but also in terms of plan funding and planning processes, including processes for public participation (RMRP, 2019). The Resource Management Review Panel (2019) suggested that these inconsistencies were causing delays and added cost whilst also impairing effective public participation due to difficulties with navigating multiple plans and processes. In recognition of these current issues the Resource Management Review Panel (2020) has suggested that a new Strategic Planning Act be established with the purpose of promoting social, economic, environmental, and cultural wellbeing of present and future generations by means of the integration of key legislation including the Local Government Act 2002, Land Transport Management Act 2003, Climate Change Response Act 2002, and the Natural and Built Environments Act. Further integration would be achieved through the requirement that regional councils and territorial authorities work together to develop a joint plan for each region, thus reducing the number of RMA related plans and policy statements from over 100, down to 14 plans (RMRP, 2020).

5.3 Local Government Act 2002

The Local Government Act 2002 (LGA) is another important piece of legislation influencing urban intensification in the Inner City East. The main purpose of the LGA is to provide for "democratic and effective local government that recognises the diversity of New Zealand communities" (LGA 2002, s.3). To achieve this, the LGA outlines the purpose of local authorities and also establishes the framework and powers under which they are to operate. Specifically, the LGA states that local government's purpose is to enable democratic decision-making within their communities, and to

promote the social, economic, environmental, and cultural well-being of their current and future communities (LGA 2002). This is a significantly broader purpose than that of the RMA, and may help to explain why, as highlighted in section 5.2, there is poor integration between land use plans, established under the RMA, and infrastructure plans, established under the LGA.

It has been suggested that local authorities' responsibilities under the LGA, to assist communities in identifying and promoting their aspirations relating to social, cultural, economic, and environmental wellbeing, can help balance the RMA's biophysical focus (Vallance et al., 2011a). However, in such instances where RMA plans and policies and LGA plans and policies conflict one another, it has been suggested that the RMAs specific legislative requirements generally overrule the broader, more general LGA provisions (Quality Planning, 2012). This would seem to suggest that the LGA's ability to balance the RMA is somewhat limited, particularly in instances where plans or policies do not align with one another.

5.4 National Policy Statement on Urban Development Capacity

One of the ways in which the national government can work to achieve the purpose of the RMA is through the use of National Policy Statements. Under the RMA, the government has the right to develop National Policy Statements, prescribing objectives and policies for matters considered to be of national significance that are necessary for achieving the purpose of the RMA (RMA 1991). In developing National Policy Statements, the public must be notified and given time and opportunity to make submissions on the proposed statements (RMA 1991), reflecting a form of public participation consistent with 'consult' on the spectrum of public participation. The National Policy Statement on Urban Development Capacity is one such example of a National Policy Statement that is of relevance to the Inner City East area, and was established in December 2016 with the purpose of ensuring that local authorities support urban development capacity, for both housing and business, in order to meet the needs of diverse and growing urban communities (New Zealand Government, 2016).

The National Policy Statement on Urban Development Capacity required that medium and high growth areas, including Christchurch, undertake development capacity assessments for both business and housing and also develop a future development strategy (New Zealand Government, 2016), so as to encourage better and more coordinated decision-making around land use planning and infrastructure provisions for current and future generations (Local Government New Zealand, 2019). With local authorities responsible for land-use planning and national government, local authorities, and other infrastructure providers jointly responsible for the provision of infrastructure, the National Policy Statement on Urban Development Capacity required that a coordinated approach

was employed so as to ensure more integrated planning and decision-making (New Zealand Government, 2016).

An assessment of the National Policy Statement on Urban Development Capacity, undertaken by Local Government New Zealand (2019), found that in general local authorities found it to be a useful exercise as the information gained from it could be used to help inform council plans and processes (LGNZ, 2019). However, it was also found that the requirements set out in the National Policy Statement on Urban Development Capacity for local authorities were generally costly, time consuming, and in some instances ineffective due to inaccurate assumptions made by the economic model that councils were required to employ when carrying out their development capacity assessments. Nevertheless, a number of local authorities suggested that many of these issues could be overcome with time as local authorities gained more experience in undertaking such exercises (LGNZ, 2019).

5.5 National Policy Statement on Urban Development

Another National Policy Statement of relevance is the National Policy Statement on Urban Development. The National Policy Statement on Urban Development came into effect on the 20th of August 2020, replacing the National Policy Statement on Urban Development Capacity (New Zealand Government, 2020) and taking a somewhat broader approach to urban development. Similar to the National Policy Statement on Urban Development Capacity, the National Policy Statement on Urban Development requires that local authorities provide sufficient development capacity for both housing and business land in the short, medium, and long term (New Zealand Government, 2020). However, it also has a number of other specific requirements focussed on encouraging increased density around urban centres and public transport lines. In particular, it requires that a minimum building height of 6 metres be required under the District Plan in city centre zones, metropolitan centre zones, and in areas within walking distance of existing or planned rapid transit stops, the edges of the city centre and metropolitan zones (New Zealand Government, 2020). It also requires that councils such as Christchurch City Council remove any rules around car park requirements, bar those around accessible car parks, from their District Plans (New Zealand Government, 2020).

As the National Policy Statement on Urban Development has only recently taken effect, it is yet to be seen how urban areas will be impacted by such requirements. However, it has been suggested that there are a number of issues with it, particularly in relation to the Christchurch planning context. It has been suggested that whilst in theory the promotion of higher-density developments around urban centres and transport interchanges makes sense, both economically and environmentally, consideration must also be given to other important factors such as open space, urban design, and

community infrastructure (Thompson, 2020). It is argued that the National Policy Statement on Urban Development does not sufficiently acknowledge these other factors that contribute to the liveability of urban areas, and thus may result in 'town cramming', given national government's narrow focus on increasing the number of houses in urban areas (Thompson, 2020). Furthermore, it has been suggested that it does not allow for or acknowledge local context and thus does not recognise that existing zones already have sufficient housing and business development capacity to meet the area's projected needs for the next 30 years (Thompson, 2020).

5.6 Canterbury Regional Policy Statement

Regional Policy Statements are another planning tool established under the RMA, which must contribute to the purpose of the RMA and give effect to national policy statements, and which must be given effect to by both Regional Plans and District Plans, as shown in figure 3 (RMA 1991). The role of Regional Policy Statements is to outline the key resource management issues within a region, and to establish objectives, policies, and methods for achieving the integrated management of the regions natural and physical resources, so as to achieve the sustainable management purpose of the RMA (RMA 1991). In developing Regional Policy Statements, regional councils are required to notify the public and allow time for people to make submissions on the proposed policy statement (RMA 1991). This type of consultation is in line with 'consult' on the International Association of Public Participation's spectrum of public participation, with the goal being to acquire public feedback on a proposed policy and to take this feedback into account when making a final decision.

The current Canterbury Regional Policy Statement, developed by Environment Canterbury Regional Council in 2013, has a number of objectives, policies, and methods that are of particular relevance to urban intensification in the Inner City East. These include policies relating to the provision of sustainable development patterns to meet the Canterbury regions growth needs, and relating to the implementation of the principles of good urban design such as connectivity, choice and diversity, integration, sense of belonging, and safety (Environment Canterbury Regional Council, 2017). The Canterbury Regional Policy Statement also establishes minimum requirements for housing density in areas such as Christchurch Central City, where intensification development is to achieve at least an average of 50 household units per hectare, and the rest of Christchurch City, where intensification development is to achieve an average density of at least 30 household units per hectare (ECRC, 2017).

5.7 Christchurch City Council District Plan

Under the RMA, the Christchurch City Council is required to develop a District Plan in order to achieve the purpose of the Act, that being the sustainable management of natural and physical resources (CCC, 2020a). As shown in figure 3, District Plans must give effect to National Policy Statements and Regional Policy Statements, and must not be inconsistent with Regional Plans (RMA, 1991). As with the Regional Policy Statements, the public must be given an opportunity to give feedback on proposed District Plans, reflecting a form of public participation in line with 'consult' on the International Association of Public Participation's spectrum of public participation. The Christchurch District Plan details the Christchurch City Council's strategy for managing land use and development within the city's bounds, establishing objectives, policies, and rules to control or guide land use and development in different areas (CCC, 2020a). It outlines how all land within the district is zoned, with zones used to denote different areas where it is expected that similar activities and land uses will occur (CCC, 2020a). Within the Inner City East area, there are 11 different zone types, the most common of which are Residential Central City Zones, and the Residential Medium Density Zones (CCC, 2020a). These various zones have different rules, such as restrictions on the height, density, and location of developments, as well as other requirements to help control or manage the environmental effects of activities.

The most recent District Plan was developed in line with an Order in Council which was created under the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011 (CCC, 2019a). The intention of this Order, titled the Canterbury Earthquake (Christchurch Replacement District Plan) Order 2014, was to accelerate the District Plan review process and to enable faster recovery and development following the Canterbury earthquakes (CCC, n.d.g.). The Order required that decisions on the new District Plan be made by an Independent Hearings Panel, as opposed to the usual process which gives the Christchurch City Council responsibility for making such decisions (CCC, n.d.g.). It also required that the new District Plan meet a set of requirements outlined in a Statement of Expectations created by the Minister for the Environment and the Minister for the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery, included in these was the requirement to reduce the number of planning requirements in the plan, such as rules and resource consents, and the requirement to enable increased housing density and housing supply (CCC, 2019a; CCC, n.d.g.). The Order in Council was revoked on the 15th of April 2019, meaning the Christchurch City Council, and the general public, are once again able to initiate plan changes (Canterbury Earthquake (Christchurch Replacement District Plan) Order 2014).

5.8 Christchurch City Council Long Term Plan and Annual Plan

The Christchurch City Council is also responsible for the development of the Long Term Plan which outlines the activities that the council plans to undertake over a ten year period as well as the community outcomes these actions are intended to achieve (Department of Internal Affairs, n.d.). Similarly, each year the council must also prepare an Annual Plan which sets out how councils intend to spend their yearly budget and work towards the goals set out in their Long Term Plan (DOIA, n.d.). The Christchurch City Council is required to develop these plans under the LGA, an Act which explicitly states that local governments are to "promote the social, economic, environmental, and cultural well-being of their communities in the present and for the future" (LGA 2002, s.10(1)(b)). This helps to explain the broad focus of Long Term Plan's and Annual Plan's, particularly when compared to the District Plan, with its narrower focus on the sustainable management of natural and physical resources.

It is useful to note that there is no legal requirement for new RMA plans or policies to conform to existing Long Term Plans, nor is there any legislation allowing Long Term Plans to overrule existing RMA provisions (Quality Planning, 2012). However, it is suggested that local authorities may incorporate Long Term Plan outcomes, including environmental, economic, social, and cultural outcomes, into RMA plans and policies if it is seen to be appropriate (Quality Planning, 2012).

The Long Term Plan for 2018-2028 covers a wide range of planned council actions and activities including the provisions of cycleways, social housing, wastewater infrastructure, flood protection, and funding such as that allocated to the strengthening communities fund (CCC, 2018). The decision to fund and or undertake such actions was made by the city council, with input from the public during a period of consultation during which time 1503 submissions were received (CCC, 2018). This type of public engagement is in line with "consult" on the International Association of Public Participation's spectrum of public participation, with the goal being to acquire feedback on analysis and decisions, and the promise to the public is that their views will be heard and considered. The Annual Plan is developed using a similar process of public engagement, also in line with "consult" on the International Association of Public Participation's spectrum of public participation, where persons who may or will be affected are provided with information and given the opportunity to have their views heard and given due consideration (LGA 2002).

5.9 Linwood Village Master Plan

The Linwood Village Master Plan is a non-statutory plan that was developed by the Christchurch City Council in August 2012, in consultation with residents, business and property owners, technical

experts, and community board members (CCC, 2012, n.d.c.). The plan was a product of the Christchurch City Council's Suburban Centres Programme which was established following the 2010 and 2011 Canterbury earthquakes to help some of the worst affected centres to rebuild and recover (CCC, 2012). Having been recognised as one of the 12 most severely impacted centres, it was decided that a Master Plan would be developed for the Linwood Village area as a way of assisting the community with planning, design, and transport related issues (CCC, 2012).

The business area, located at the intersection of Worcester Street and Stanmore Road, was the primary focus of the plan, though attention was also paid to the surrounding area and community (CCC, 2012). The plan aimed to integrate business, housing, greenspace, community facilities, accessibility, and aesthetic, recognising the interconnected nature of the community's various needs (CCC, 2012; Vallance et al., 2019).

The plan also recognised the need for different stakeholders or interest groups to work together in a coordinated manner to achieve a joint vision (CCC, n.d.c.). Informed by a series of public consultation events and activities including community meetings, focus groups, and workshops, the council developed a draft Master Plan. The city council approved the draft plan for public notification, a period of further public consultation was undertaken, further amendments were made, and the plan was then adopted by the city council. This form of public engagement is in line with 'involve' on the International Association of Public Participation's spectrum of public participation, where the goal is to work with the public to ensure their wants and concerns are recognised, and the promise to the public is that these will be visible in the decisions made.

The final plan established a vision for how the area could be revitalised and transformed into "A lively urban village, colourful, diverse and eclectic – the heart of our community" (CCC, 2012). Five key goals were established in support of this vision. These key goals were a good natural environment, successful business and economy, a centre that supports community wellbeing, an attractive built environment, and good access to, and movement through, the centre (CCC, 2012). The plan also outlined key actions or projects to help achieve these goals, with a range of different lead actors and partners, including the Christchurch City Council, property owners, business owners, Environment Canterbury Regional Council, local organisations, and members of the community, expected to carry out these projects (CCC, 2012). A commonality throughout these projects and actions is their strong focus on physical form as a way to achieve desired community outcomes.

The Christchurch City Council's website, which states current progress on the plan's implementation, suggests that the key successes to date are generally those implemented by the council and the

community, whilst the progress or success of projects involving property owners and business owners is much less clear (CCC, n.d.c.). This is in line with TWR community development worker Jenny Smith's suggestion that the Master plan's market-led approach has resulted in limited, sporadic development that largely fails to meet the community's needs (Law, 2017).

5.10 Community Resilience Partnership Fund

Established in February 2017, the Community Resilience Partnership Fund was a joint initiative between the Christchurch City Council and national government, both of whom committed $3 million to the fund over a three year period (CCC, 2017c; Coleman, 2017). The fund was created in response to the Canterbury earthquakes and was intended to support community projects in the Christchurch area that were contributing to community wellbeing and helping to build resilience (CCC, 2017c). Both the city council and the government recognised the value in supporting context specific, community-led initiatives that could draw from and build on existing community strengths and relationships, enabling greater innovation and inclusiveness, and building social capital (CCC, 2017c; Coleman, 2017). Following the fund's launch, acting mayor Andrew Turner stated that it would provide "a new mechanism for investing in and empowering our communities so they can take ownership and control of their own endeavours and destinies" (CCC, 2017c).

Te Whare Roimata were one such group who were successful in their application for funding from the Community Resilience Partnership Fund, receiving $160,000 between 2017 and 2019 (CCC, 2017a). This funding was given specifically for the development of the community-led revitalisation of Linwood Village and the wider Inner City East area (CCC, 2017a, 2017c). As was the case for the Inner City East community, such local and national government funds can act as important non-statutory planning tools. Though this fund is longer available, there are still other funds such as the Strengthening Communities Fund, which is similarly focussed on supporting groups and organisations that contribute to and strengthen community wellbeing within the Christchurch area (CCC, n.d.f.).

The finances for such funds often come from the city council, with the funding allocations, and the community outcomes they are intended to help achieve, outlined in Long Term Plans and Annual Plans. As a result of this, the types of funds, and the amount of funding available can change from year to year, depending on council finances, and priorities. In the Christchurch City Council's latest draft Annual Plan, which was published for consultation in June 2020 after the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, funding for the Strengthening Communities Fund was initially set to be reduced (CCC, 2020b). However, in response to community feedback, the draft plan was amended to provide a one-off boost of $500,000 for the fund in order to help address some of the impacts that COVID-19 had on community organisations (CCC, 2020b).

5.11 Shape your place toolkit

The shape your place toolkit is another relevant planning tool available to communities in Christchurch. The toolkit was developed by the Christchurch City Council and is intended to act as a resource for local community groups to help them "identify, plan, and deliver their own projects through community-led place-making" (CCC, n.d.e.). This toolkit is informed by the notion of place-making, and recognises that collaborative, people-focussed approaches to place-making can both enhance places and build or strengthen relationships between the people sharing these spaces (CCC, n.d.e.). The toolkit aims to provide information and inspiration to individuals and groups, including what kinds of resources may be required, how long projects might take, possible sources of funding, and how the Christchurch City Council, along with other agencies, might be able to be involved (CCC, n.d.e.).

The toolkit was employed by a group called the Green Lab, in partnership with the Christchurch City Council, in order to develop a temporary garden and community space in Linwood Village, where people could gather and interact (CCC, n.d.a.). Over the course of 12 months, the Green Lab worked with the community to design, install, and open the project, known as Koha Garden, which included seating, play equipment, a garden, and a performance stage (CCC, n.d.a.). As well as providing a community area with increased public amenity and aesthetic value, the project also aimed to build community connections and pride, both in the development of the project and once the project was operational (CCC, n.d.a.).

5.12 Bylaws

Bylaws are another form of statutory tools employed by local councils. The Alcohol Restrictions in Public Places Bylaw 2018 is one such bylaw that was established by the Christchurch City Council and impacts on the Inner City East area (Alcohol Restrictions in Public Places Bylaw 2018). This bylaw provides for the establishment of alcohol ban areas, including temporary bans, permanent bans, and bans at certain times of the day or on certain days of the year (Alcohol Restrictions in Public Places Bylaw 2018). In the case of the Inner City East, the bylaw establishes permanent alcohol bans in both the Linwood Village area and the Central City area, meaning no alcohol can be consumed in public places within these areas (Alcohol Restrictions in Public Places Bylaw 2018).

5.13 Other planning tools

Figure 3 below highlights some of these key planning tools and also outlines their relation to one another. However, there are myriad of other planning tools impacting on the Inner City East area. Some of these tools are statutory and some of them are non-statutory. Some are developed by the national government, some by Environment Canterbury Regional council, some by the Christchurch City Council, and some by a combination of these and other councils, groups, or organisations. Many also have different purposes, different sources of funding, and different timelines.

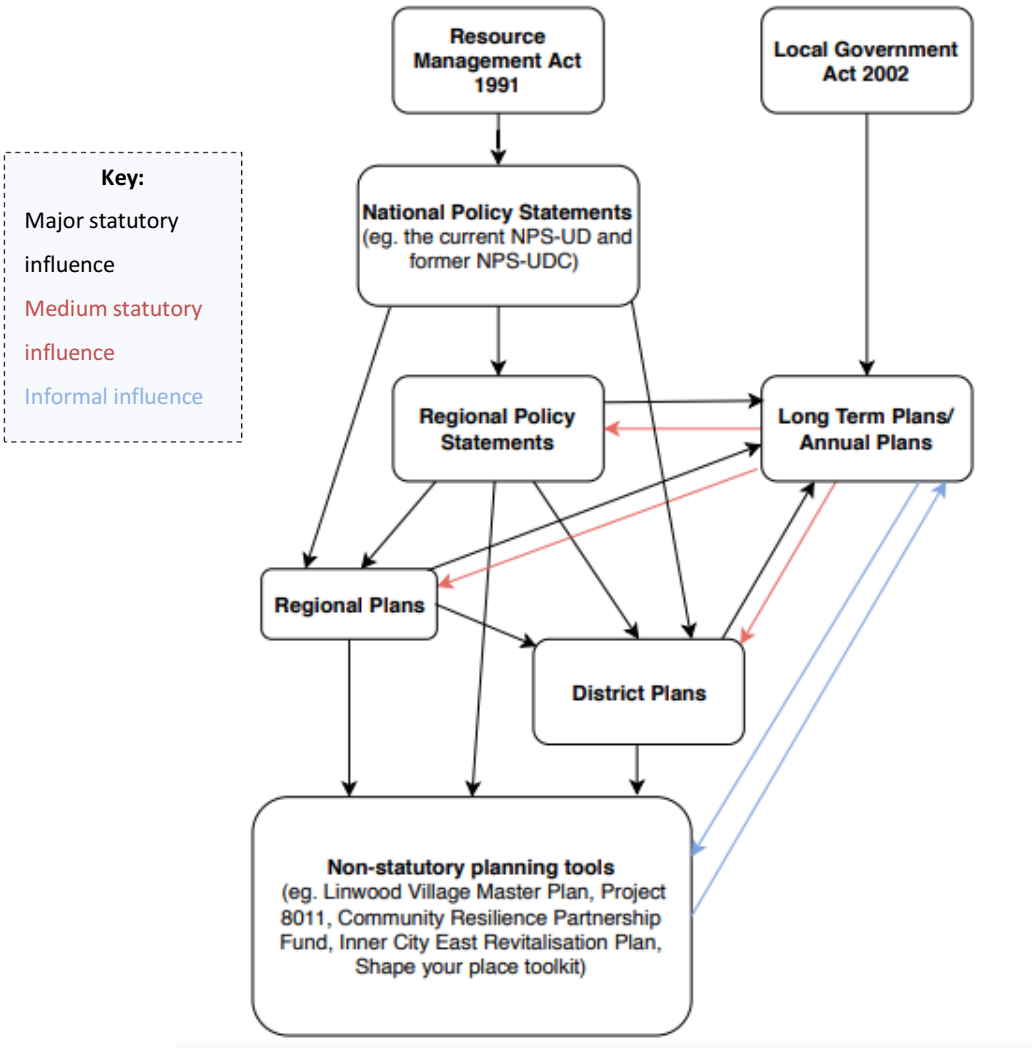

Figure 3. Relationships between key planning tools

For the purpose of this research, these other tools will not be examined in any detail. However, they are noted below in order to illustrate the vast number of policies, plans, and strategies impacting on the area. They include: the Building Act 2004 and subsequent Building Code (Building Act 2004), Land Transport Management Act 2003, Urban Development Act 2020, Greater Christchurch Urban

Development Strategy, Canterbury Regional Land Transport Plan 2015-2025, Canterbury Regional Public Transport Plan 2018-2028, Canterbury Land and Water Regional Plan, Land Use Recovery Plan 2013, Environment Canterbury Long Term Plan 2018-2028 and Annual Plan (ECRC, n.d.), Christchurch Economic Development Strategy, Infrastructure Strategy, Christchurch Transport Strategic Plan 2012-2042, Strengthening Communities Strategy 2007, Safer Christchurch Strategy 2016, Social Housing Strategy 2007, Public Open Space Strategy 2010, Multicultural Strategy, Our Heritage, Our Taonga – Heritage Strategy 2019-2029, Biodiversity Strategy 2008-2035, Toi Ō Tautahi - Arts and Creativity Strategy, Climate Smart Strategy 2010, Physical Recreation and Sport Strategy 2002, Central City Action Plan, Central City Recovery Plan, Christchurch Alcohol Action Plan (CCC, n.d.b.).

5.14 Summary

As outlined above, these different statutory and non-statutory tools are informed and enabled by a range of different pieces of legislation with distinct purposes or objectives. They also often work to different scales, with some working at the neighbourhood level and others working at the city-wide, regional, or national level. As might be expected, it is thought that in some instances, these different planning tools do not always align well with one another (RMRP, 2020). The following chapter will further explore how these planning tools align, interact, and collectively impact the Inner City East. It will also further examine how both plans and planning might be improved in the future.

Chapter 6

Interview results

6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the key themes and ideas that developed during interviews with planners and an urban designer from Christchurch City Council, as well as a community development worker in the Inner City East, and a member of the Inner City East Revitalisation Plan Working Group. The first theme explores interview participants' views on the District Plan. This section is important because the District Plan is the primary mechanism through which land use is regulated. The second section presents results concerning the alignment or integration of different plans impacting on the Inner City East. The third theme explores participants' ideas on how the content of plans impacting the Inner City East, and in particular the District Plan, could be improved. The fourth section presents participants' views on how the process of planning could be improved in future. It is important to recognise this distinction between plans, meaning the contents of plans, and planning, meaning the process of plan development and implementation.

6.2 Public participation

When interviewing participants about the degree to which the public were involved in the development of plans and policies, a common theme was the idea that planning mechanisms tended to employ a form of public engagement that would fall under 'consult' on the International Association of Public Participation's spectrum of public participation. It is suggested that the aim of this form of public engagement is to gain public feedback decisions or options, with the promise to the public being that they will be kept informed and their views heard and considered (IAP2, 2018).

In reference to the current Christchurch District Plan, an urban designer at Christchurch City Council stated:

> *"So, it was maybe a consult process because we did obtain feedback but it was a very legalistic process… It wasn't a friendly process, so people weren't particularly encouraged to participate"*

An urban regeneration planner at Christchurch City Council shared a similar view, acknowledging that the development of Long Term Plans and District Plans, once they are final products, tend to employ a method near 'consult' on the International Association of Public Participation's spectrum of public participation. However, they also recognised that other types of informal engagement might also take place, but *outside* of the formal plan development process.

> *"It's definitely in the consult area, both of them once they're formalised plans, are in the consult area. What I think we struggle to do is meet the bold aspirations we have in local government to deliver at the empower end of the spectrum and the collaborate end of the spectrum because both of those points on the spectrum aren't the final output the community see. The Long Term Plan and District Plan, once they are final products, they are more at the consult end of the spectrum with the rules in place"*

A similar notion was expressed by a Christchurch City Council Senior Planner who suggested that there may be instances where members of the community are engaged *prior* to formal public consultation, through workshops and other activities. In such instances, it was suggested that public participation could sometimes reflect a form of involvement, rather than purely consultation.

> *"When engaging the public, it's often the case that the council does quite a lot of in-house thinking and research and data review first, to develop a concept or project for consultation. So, instead of starting a new conversation with a totally blank page, a kind of 'scaffolding' is developed in order to hang the conversation off. In other situations, there are opportunities for more open discussions, for greater levels of involvement, when thinking about the 'engagement spectrum'. That might look like pre-consultation workshops, focus groups, meetings, or brainstorming sessions where there's more of free-flowing ideas to then develop the 'straw man' that is put out for formal consultation"*

A member of the Inner City East Revitalisation Plan Working Group suggested that, whilst the community were invited to consult on plans such as the Canterbury Public Transport Plan, they did not feel that their views had necessarily be acknowledged.

> *"I think, something like the Ecan public transport plan, I would say that would fit on inform and consult. Although, to say that they listened to and acknowledged our concerns, it's kind of stretching it because I don't really think they did. We presented to them and they pretty much ignored everything we said and asked us questions about different things, and then said 'thanks very much for your helpful submission', and that's all we heard"*

Similarly, a community development worker suggested that, in terms of the Long Term Plans, it was often difficult to achieve an alternative option to that proposed by the city council, again reflecting a view that even when consulted, their voices may not be heard.

> *"That certainly is the council saying 'this is what we're thinking, these are the options we're thinking about, tell us about what you think, is there anything that you're not happy about with those options?' And it's pretty hard to get an alternative option supported through cos it's kind of like it's prescribed, these are the parameters"*

A member of the Inner City East Revitalisation Plan Working Group suggested that the city council provided funding for the working group to undertake their own community involvement and

community engagement. However, it seems that the degree to which this engagement is recognised or utilised by the city council is not always clear.

> *"We've got a report which says this is what the children and other people of the area would like, and it's just disappeared into the bowels of the council processes and I've no idea what's going to happen now, even though there's money there for it. So I kind of despair sometimes. The best I can say is that I've seen council give us funding, the community resilience partnership fund, they gave us that and they said go for it with your sort of community involvement and community engagement, so that's what we've done."*

There seems to be a general view that, at least formally, plans such as the Long Term Plan, District Plan, and Public Transport Plan employ a method of public participation similar to 'consult' on the spectrum of public participation. However, there are other forms of engagement, with greater degrees of public involvement and influence, that may take place prior to these formal 'consult' processes. Conversely, it seems that even plan development processes that are legally required to employ a method similar to 'consult' on the public participation are not always viewed as 'consult' and are also not necessarily seen as friendly or inclusive processes. The Inner City East Revitalisation Plan Working Group, with support from the city council, have undertaken their own community engagement to involve and engage the community more directly in the planning process. However, it is unclear to what degree the information gained from such engagement is used to inform the city council's plans and policies. This seems to pose challenges for the Inner City East, where non-statutory, community-led planning approaches were adopted in order to try and give the community a greater voice in the planning and decision-making process.

6.3 District Plan

As detailed in chapter 5, the Christchurch District Plan outlines the Christchurch City Council's strategy for managing land use in the district in order to achieve the purpose of the RMA, that being the sustainable management of natural and physical resources. When asking participants how planning tools impact the Inner City East addressed or exacerbated the tensions around urban intensification, many participants highlighted the District Plan as a tool responsible for exacerbating rather than addressing such tensions. More specifically, the general consensus amongst interview participants was that the District Plan was quite a blunt planning tool. There were various reasons for this, for instance, a Christchurch City Council Senior Planner suggested that it often did not coordinate development at a neighbourhood level, instead working on a site by site basis.

> *"Zoning rules are quite a blunt instrument when it comes to neighbourhood planning. For instance, the District Plan might have a zoning rule that determines what can happen on individual sites, but it might not be well*

coordinated with development that is happening on other sites across the neighbourhood."

This notion was also supported by a Christchurch City Council Urban Regeneration Planner who suggested that the District Plan's parcel by parcel approach was not achieving the greatest level of onsite amenity.

> *"District planning, a lot of the issues revolve around housing and intensification, so there's stuff around the form of the housing, and that's not sort of architectural form, but more in terms of the redevelopment of parcels that's happening at a parcel by parcel level. The issue with that parcel by parcel level is that you're not yielding the gains that you might seek from intensification, so you're not seeing, for a higher-density urban form, better houses out of that. We're seeing smaller housing on smaller land parcels closer and closer to the boundary and so, if several parcels were amalgamated you could achieve the same level of density, a similar number of residential units', but a much higher level of onsite amenity"*

Similarly, a Christchurch City Council Urban Designer suggested that, whilst the District Plan was achieving its intended levels of density, it was not achieving optimal use of the sites, instead leading to the development of squished townhouses.

> *"So, there's a minimum density which is a net density of 50 and a site density of 75 buildings per hectare. What that leads to is what you might see in a variety of developments around the city, that are basically suburban type townhouses squished up onto a site without any carparking. And it gives you a certain outcome, it gives you a certain amount of density and everyone has their own outdoor space. It does meet our minimum density requirements but that's sort of where it's not sort of making the most of the site. It's not giving us a city centre product, a city centre feel, and it's not going to give us high densities that might be typical in cities of similar size in Australasia"*

More specifically, it was suggested by a number of interviewees that the District Plan, whilst achieving certain density requirements, was not necessarily achieve very good outcomes in terms of cultural, social, aesthetic, and amenity values. In reference to the blanket rule, objectives, policy packages in District Plans, a Christchurch City Council senior planner suggested:

> *"So, District Plan zoning rules can be quite blunt instruments that don't necessarily anticipate every possible scenario that can happen; it's actually impossible to create planning rules that deal with every situation. So, often times strange things happen when planning rules are applied... I guess that's why a District Plan can sometimes lead to poor outcomes, for instance, poor character and amenity outcomes"*

A similar view was expressed by a Christchurch City Council Urban Regeneration Planner, particularly in regard to the District Plan rules around social housing developments. Again, this reflects the notion that current District Plan requirements do not necessarily support or ensure that developments achieve good social outcomes.

> *"The residents also raise concerns about the way social housing is delivered in the area, and that the social housing is often delivered at quite high yields on particular sites. So, where there might have been 4 or 5 units previously, they've been redeveloped into 23 units. A good example, Kainga Ora development on Barbadoes Street that does that. And Kainga Ora are of course trying to deliver homes for people, but often neighbours' concerns are with safety and community that surround this scale of development…. These are sometimes our most vulnerable people in society and they've got no outdoor living space or even really an interface with the community from their housing, which doesn't lead to community stability because people are often trying to get out of those houses as fast as they can to a much higher amenity housing provision"*

A number of interview participants commented on the fact that the current District Plan employed a light touch approach with weak or limited regulations on development and little consideration for or protection of the neighbourhood's distinct qualities and character. In some instances, this was attributed to the fact that the recent District Plan was not developed with the level of public consultation and engagement that is usually required when creating new District Plans, with some referring to it as "Gerry Brownlee's plan". This notion is reflected in the statement below from a member of the Inner City East Revitalisation Plan Working Group.

> ***"****One of the things that happened after the earthquakes was that Gerry Brownlee just decided that he would let it be a free for all in terms of housing development and that had a really detrimental effect on the character of the neighbourhood. There's a lot of intensive housing being put in place and there's a lot of tearing down of character houses. So, it's losing its character because of those, I guess because of the District Plan"*

A community development worker in the Inner City East expressed a similar view, highlighting the primary focus on achieving a certain level of density without considering how such density could be achieved whilst still providing good neighbourhood amenity.

> *"it's been Gerry Brownlee's plan all the way through this, and if you go through all the older inner city neighbourhoods, and I'm talking about the Inner City Action Network group on the west, Victoria street, Moa place, Avon loop, Chester street east, they would all say that that plan has been an*

absolute major contributor to what has happened subsequently, so it's not good planning. It's allowed for medium density, but not good medium density. So, you haven't got really good planning regulations that will enable, that will think about amenity and linking in the street, and that will think about how planning actually impacts on communities, and how it might encourage community by street facing or having it so that people actually connect with their neighbours, there's not been a lot of thought around that"

In summary, it seems that there is a general view that the District Plan, with its narrow focus on the sustainable management of natural and physical resources, its concentration on individual sites, and its propensity for rigid, blanket rules that do not recognise the unique qualities of places, can be quite a blunt planning instrument. Given this specific focus, it bares considering how the District Plan interacts and aligns with other planning mechanisms also impacting the Inner City East.

6.4 Alignment of Plans

When considering the alignment of plans, a number of interview participants highlighted the fact that many of the plans impacting on the Inner City East did not align, having been developed at different times with different purposes. In particular, it was suggested that there was poor alignment between the District Plan and the Linwood Village Master Plan, and also between the District Plan and community plans and planning processes.

"They're not done together, it's not like you have a grand vision… Where you've built what the issues are and you build your grand vision based on that. So, the revitalisation work that, you know, Te Whare Roimata advocated so strongly for, was because the plans weren't meeting the needs of local people, or they were being forgotten, or they were being driven by another ideology or perspective or way of seeing things that didn't actually say 'hey, here's the special part of the jigsaw'" – Community Development Worker

"The revitalisation plans, some of the values that the community have put forward in terms of heritage protection or improving neighbourhood outcomes, in terms of a better sort of housing model being delivered, those provisions are just not there in the current District Plan in the way that the community would probably like to see them" – CCC Urban Regeneration Planner

"there's not a good relationship at the moment in the RMA planning processes and sort of neighbourhood or community led planning processes in terms of delivering outcomes"- CCC Urban Regeneration Planner

> *"the Linwood Village Master Plan, which is a non-statutory document, it is referenced to deliver an outcome in the area in the District Plan to say 'hey look, give thought to this', but when it comes down to, like ok cool now do a development on site, the developers may or may not be aware of the plan being in place and some of the aspirations that came through that enquiry by design process for the community. In one instance it was just that. There's a shop in Linwood Village, and in the Master Plan it kind of calls for active frontage and seating areas out onto the corner and onto the pavement and the business has the urban design form of just a big blank wall on 2 sides, facing out onto the street. Which doesn't meet some of those objectives around crime prevention or environmental design or sort of the urban form that was pushed for in that master plan. Several other sites, despite having the master plan, remain vacant because there's disparity in the master plan want for a compact, funky, vibrant centre that delivers across multiple parcels and sites, and then you come down to the District Plan rules and for instance there's a requirement to provide "x" number of carparks per square metre of retail floor space or a number of carparks per residential units. And the way the parcels are cut up, it would require someone buying the entire block to actually be able to provide the parking to support the development that is called for in the Master Plan, and that's just not going to feasibly happen. So, either there's some changed parking rules in the District Plan or there's a sort agreement that we might not get the desired sort of urban form that we're seeking through that non-statutory plan" – CCC Urban Regeneration Planner*

Based on interviewees descriptions, it seems that in cases where plans did not align and instead contradicted one another, it was the District Plan that tended to overrule the other plans. This is perhaps to be expected given the District Plan's status as a statutory plan and helps to explain why, in the statement below, a member of the Inner City East Revitalisation Plan Working Group has likened the District Plan to a cage with limited space to move.

> *"When we engaged, we went to a meeting there and the council staff were there, they were really good council staff but they basically said, 'there's no point in putting in a submission that argues with the District Plan because we are completely bound by the District Plan and this consultation must be within the bounds of the District Plan'. So what that said to me was that the District Plan was kind of a cage within which there's not a lot of room to move, so that feels more like an inform and not even a consult"*

Recognising that plans are often at different stages of development and implementation, a Christchurch City Council Senior Planner suggested that while it may be hard to determine whether plans are aligned at a given point, the aim is to make them align eventually.

> *"Our plans and projects are all at different stages. progressing along different timeframes and pathways. So, while their degree of alignment may not be evident or clear at every moment, there's always an intention to*

make them come together and align. I think the Central City Residential Programme can be an instrument for alignment because we (staff) hope to use it to coordinate different Council and non-Council activities especially in terms of future neighbourhood and community development. An example of how we (staff) hope to do that is by identifying improvement projects that need funding in future Long Term Plans and, where funding already exists, to make sure that those projects achieve good neighbourhood and community development objectives"

It is interesting to note that it is the non-statutory Central City Residential Programme, otherwise known as Project 8011, and the Long Term Plan, whose role is in part to promote the social, economic, environmental, and cultural well-being of communities, that are employed to help achieve this alignment.

In summary, it seems that the plans impacting on the Inner City East are often at different stages of development and implementation and often do not align, with the District Plan overruling other plans in instances where plans contradict or conflict with one another.

6.5 Improvements to plan contents

When considering how planning in the Inner City East could be improved in future, interviewees' suggestions fell into two general groups. The first group of ideas were focussed on how the content of plans could be improved, whilst the second group of ideas were focussed on how the development of plans, and planning in general, could be improved. This section will focus on the first group of ideas relating to improvements to plan content.

Having recognised that the current District Plan is not very good at coordinating development within neighbourhoods, achieving good design outcomes, or creating good communities, a number of interviewees suggested that plans could be improved through the use of more specific rules around things such as density and design.

"If we were to look just at housing outcomes, there may also be a case for looking at more innovative overlays to a District Plan where overlays such as the density overlay or in the central city there was the retail precinct overlay that came into the central city core plan. And introducing some of those elements, whilst more onerous for say a developer going through a resource consents process, gives the community that living or working input into development. And it's not necessarily just to argue for higher amenity or higher cost or whatever, it is sometimes just to get cohesion between parts of the neighbourhood so it forms together as a community rather than just as these distinct dormitory type housing scenarios, parcel after parcel down the street" – CCC Urban Regeneration Planner

"There is a real need for better urban design in our cities and neighbourhoods, and yet urban design is not highly regulated for in New Zealand. I don't think we can expect to get good urban design outcomes just by relying on people's good will. I think we need to do more to get good outcomes" – CCC Senior Planner

"if you look at what things could be done, the best way of planning for the city, it would be to look at those basic urban design issues and to work at getting streets with a more urban interface and a more interesting built form" – CCC Urban Designer

It was also suggested, by a community development worker in the Inner City East , that plans could be improved by better acknowledging the Inner City East area's role in housing low income people.

"well first of all recognises that this area plays, the inner city Linwood area plays a critical role in still housing low income people, for how those needs are protected."

This notion linked to another suggestion, from a Christchurch City Council Senior Planner, to require new developments to include a percentage of affordable housing in their developments.

"Regarding affordable housing, I have heard that other parts of the world actually make developers apportion a percentage of their housing development affordable; they are required to build a range of products and prices that meet a definition of 'affordability'. That would be something positive we could do to make more progress here in New Zealand, I think."

In summary, there was general agreement amongst interviewees that the contents of the District Plan could be improved through the use of more rules and regulations and in particular, more place-specific, community focussed rules and regulations that recognised the unique qualities of neighbourhoods such as the Inner City East. It is useful to note that this notion links back to earlier critiques of the District Plan and specifically its narrow focus on the sustainable management of the natural and physical resources.

6.6 Improvements to planning process

The second group of ideas for how planning in the Inner City East could be improved were all linked to the ways in which plans were developed. Within this set of ideas, the general consensus amongst

interview participants was that the planning process could and should be improved through the use of more public engagement and collaboration.

> *"A lot more inclusive planning. There would be a good rationale for some sort of neighbourhood planning that had more participation in some of those tail end decision-making around hearings and resource consent processing" – CCC Urban Regeneration Planner*

> *"Greater collaboration, more joint decision-making between communities, agencies and decision-makers, for example, through joint working groups, joint steering groups, and by using tools like participatory budgeting etcetera. That could be of potential benefit to the Inner City East as well" – CCC Senior Planner*

In reference to the development of a new District Plan or City Plan in the future, a community development worker suggested that:

> *"I do hope that they will look to enable inner city, or inner city dwellers to have their voice about what they want, so it's coming from the bottom upwards"*

A number of interview participants also emphasised the importance of good process when undertaking public engagement. A member of the Inner City East Revitalisation Plan Working Group highlighted the need to recognise that this may look different for different communities with varying levels of access and resources available to them.

> *"I think that it's important that the various planners recognise, what I've just said about consultation in that area, that community engagement in an area of high deprivation is a very different thing from community engagement in a more prosperous area where people will jump online and make submissions and be very engaged. So, to respect the people in the neighbourhood, it's very important to do much more on the ground engagement. And then from that engagement work, because that engagement can be quite in depth and quite extensive, or it can be as extensive as you're prepared to fund really, to then work with the people that've done that engagement to really hear what the community is saying. To see the potential that the community sees for itself in terms of its identity and then to work with that potential and work with the community to try and develop plans, master plans, whatever, that really reflect that character and identity and what people are saying"*

While supporting the use of collaborative planning, a Christchurch City Council Senior Planner highlighted the need to recognise the limitations or challenges with undertaking public engagement.

> *"As Council staff, there are instances where we might want to do more 'co-created' work; work at the 'community empowerment' end of the engagement spectrum. But we might not have access to the time, resources, tools or processes to enable that and, as much as we might like to explore different ways of doing things, we may not have the expertise or training to do that confidently. That's really important because as staff we want to do things well; not just check boxes. We actually want to do a good job"*

In a similar vein, a community worker from Inner City East gave a particular example of how current processes for carrying out public engagement are not always suitable and do not achieve good outcomes for the community, or for the city council in the long term as further adjustments may need to be made in future to remedy issues that may have otherwise been made apparent if more place-specific engagement had been undertaken. In this instance, a lack of community engagement on a proposed cycleway was thought to have led to the development of a cycleway that caused a number of issues relating to usability, safety, street cleaning, parking, and rubbish collection within the Inner City East area (CCC, 2019b).

> ***"****like the cycleway that's gone through, there are a lot of issues with the cycleway. And locals didn't have a lot of time to have their say, if they'd had more time and been listened to, some of the problems which we've got may not have eventuated because locals would have been able to say, 'it's not going to work on that corner' or 'you need to think about this' or whatever"*

A Christchurch City Council Urban Regeneration Planner suggested that there were existing examples of communities within Christchurch developing their own visions and plans which were then used to inform Long Term Plans.

> *"across the city there are communities who have aspirations for what they want to achieve, and we've tried to develop a shape the place toolkit. Within that, communities can utilise the toolkit to form a vision or some sort of foundational objectives or plans for their neighbourhood area to start informing those formative and catalyst processes into the likes of a Long Term Plan, and good examples of that were in Diamond Harbour and Little River, they had sort of initiated that, as two distinct communities they both wanted outcomes and gradually they are starting to filter into the next Long Term Plan and community aspirations be delivered"*

Similarly, a member of the Inner City East Revitalisation Plan Working Group suggested that the current arrangement between the city council and the working group was a good example of the city council and communities working together.

> *"I think that has been one of the really good models out of this, just because council processes are so labyrinthine and difficult for community groups to kind of grasp"*

Under this arrangement the city council has afforded a number of council planning staff to attend working group meetings and provide insight and advice on council processes in order to assist the community in developing their community-led revitalisation plan. Having recognised the benefits of collaboration, a member of the Inner City East Revitalisation Plan Working Group also acknowledged that they were not looking to be at the empowerment end of the International Association of Public Participation's spectrum of public participation.

> *"I'm not saying that council should just do what the community says, so I'm not that empower end so much, because I think council has its own limitations and we quite understand that. But we would like much more partnership with council"*

In summary, there was a consensus amongst interview participants that the development and implementation of plans could be improved through the use of greater collaboration with the community, and the use of place-specific or place appropriate forms of engagement.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted a number of key themes and ideas that developed during primary data collection. The first theme relates to the notion that the District Plan can be a rather blunt planning tool, both in terms of its focus on individual sites rather than on coordinated development, and in terms of its rigid, broad-spectrum rules. The second theme stems from the idea that the plans and policies impacting on the Inner City East often lack alignment due to their different purposes and focusses. The third theme relates to the ways on which the content of plans could be improved in future, the most common notion being that the District Plan ought to have more fine-grained, place-specific rules and regulations. Finally, the fourth theme is based on the notion that the planning process could and should be improved through the use of greater public participation and collaborative planning methods. When combined, these themes suggest that in order to address some of the existing tensions around urban intensification, there is a need to adopt a more collaborative planning approach to ensure that planning tools are better coordinated and better able to recognise and support people's diverse needs. Reflecting on the findings from chapters 2, 5, and 6, the following chapter will now return to the original research questions and objective.

Chapter 7

Discussion

7.1 Introduction

Chapter 1 identified the objective of this research and provided a justification for this focus. The objective was to explore the nature of collaboration used for planning in the Inner City East, and to examine the extent to which such collaboration was addressing the diverse tensions around urban intensification. Within this broad objective, the specific questions to be addressed were:

- What are the current tensions around urban intensification in the Inner City East
- What forms of collaboration are currently being employed for planning in the Inner City East? Are these forms of collaboration helping to address current tensions?
- How might planning in the Inner City East be improved?

I will now return to these questions and objectives, examining them with reference to the theoretical ideas outlined in chapters 1 and 2, the analysis of plans and policies detailed in chapter 5, and the findings from primary data results described in chapter 6.

7.2 Tensions around urban intensification

As was highlighted in chapter 1, in recent years there has been increasing support, from both academics and policy-makers, for the development of more compact, higher-density urban areas as a way of reducing the negative environmental effects associated with urban sprawl (Bibri et al., 2020; Crommelin et al., 2017; Howley et al., 2009). It is purported that these negative environmental effects are due to a number of factors including the loss of productive land, inefficient use of infrastructure, increased car dependency and thus increased greenhouse gas emissions (Bibri et al., 2020; Davison, 2011; Howley et al., 2009; Vallance et al., 2005). However, it is argued that policies to reduce sprawl and intensify urban areas have often faced significant opposition from residents (Bibri et al., 2020; Davison, 2017; Howley et al., 2009).

It has been suggested that in Europe, such opposition is in part due to national and local policies that have tended to encourage high-density development whilst failing to properly acknowledge and provide for other factors that contribute to a place's liveability and subsequently a place's sustainability (Howley et al., 2009). It is purported that, as a result of this narrow focus, higher-

density urban areas are often viewed as less attractive and less liveable than lower-density urban areas (Howley et al., 2009). In order for higher-density living to become a more attractive and thus sustainable form of development, it has been purported that there is a need for a more comprehensive policy approach that recognises the importance of factors such as safety, open space, public amenity, and lively, vibrant streets (Allen et al., 2018; Howley et al., 2009; Mouratidis, 2017). Alongside the need for appropriate amenity, a study from Auckland asserted that it was also important for neighbourhoods to have a strong sense of identity in order for them to be liveable and thus successful (Allen et al., 2018). In such instances where people's various tangible and intangible needs are recognised and met, it is suggested that higher-density compact cities can be equally if not more satisfying than dispersed, sprawling cities (Allen et al., 2018; Mouratidis, 2017).

7.2.1 Inner City East tensions around urban intensification

The results from chapter 6 seem to suggest that, as has been the experience overseas, urban intensification in the Inner City East has not always been seen to be meeting the needs and wants of residents. It has been suggested that this is in part due to planning's focus on physical form, and its lack of focus on other less tangible things such as public amenity, safety, or neighbourhood character. The Christchurch District Plan, with its strong focus on the sustainable management of natural and physical resources, provides a good example of this, with a number of interviewees suggesting that it could be quite a blunt planning tool. Though it was capable of achieving particular levels of height and density, it was suggested that the current District Plan often did not achieve desirable community outcomes such as community cohesion and stability, the maintenance of neighbourhood character, or the provision of sufficient public and private amenity. It was even purported that in some instances, rather than supporting such positive outcomes, the District Plan was doing the opposite and contributing to the loss of social cohesion and neighbourhood character. For example, it was suggested that new developments often did not face the street and thus did not encourage community interaction and connectedness. It was also suggested that they tended to have limited greenspace, which was thought to be a particular issue for an area, such as the Inner City East, with limited parks or greenspace (CCC, 2017b).

The results from chapter 6 also suggest that another reason that urban intensification in the Inner City East has not always been meeting the needs and wants of residents is because plans are not always well aligned with one another. It has been suggested that, due to this misalignment, the objectives or goals of some plans were not able to be achieved as they were in conflict with the rules set out in other plans. A Christchurch City Council Urban Regeneration Planner suggested that an example of this could be seen from the misalignment between the Christchurch District Plan's car parking requirements and the Linwood Village Master Plan's objective of achieving a compact, vibrant centre that delivered across numerous sites. It was suggested that due to the minimum car

parking requirements in the District Plan, someone would have to be able to purchase an entire block in order to meet the required number of carparks whilst also providing the desired compact, vibrant village centre.

A Christchurch City Council Urban Regeneration Planner suggested that another example could be seen in the development of a business within the Inner City East area. In this instance the development was in line with the District Plan's statutory rules but was inconsistent with the non-statutory Linwood Village Master Plan's vision for a vibrant town centre with active street frontage as it just had big blank walls on the two sides facing out onto the street. As a result of this it was suggested that the development was not supporting the achievement of community objectives, such as crime prevention, that the master plan aimed to achieve.

As is perhaps to be expected, it seems that in instances where there is misalignment between the statutory District Plan and the non-statutory master plan, the District Plan overruled the master plan. Similarly, Quality Planning (2012) have suggested that in instances where there is conflict between the RMA plans and policies and LGA plans and policies, it is generally the RMA plans and policies that overrule LGA plans and policies. This is something to keep in mind, particularly given the findings above which suggest that the District Plan, with its strong focus on the sustainable management on the natural and physical environment, has sometimes been exacerbating rather than addressing issues around urban intensification.

Here it is important to note that, though it was suggested that plans often did not align, a Senior Planner at the Christchurch City Council asserted that planning tools such as Project 8011 and the Long Term Plan could be used to help align and coordinate development within neighbourhoods in order to achieve established community development objectives. Vallance et al. (2011a) expressed a similar notion, asserting that the LGA, which informs planning tools such as Long Term Plans and Annual Plans, could be used alongside the RMA, to balance out the RMA's strong focus on the biophysical environment. In this way, it seems that planning tools informed by the LGA, with its focus on the promotion of the social, economic, environmental, and cultural wellbeing of communities, were in some instances helping to address tensions around urban intensification. It has also been suggested that community plans such as the Inner City East Revitalisation Plan might be able to address some of the current challenges facing the community in relation to urban intensification, as well as some of the other wider and interconnected issues facing the community (Vallance et al., 2019).

The difficulty here is that, as was highlighted above, in instances where there has been conflict between different policies and plans, the District Plan tends to begiven priority, meaning that plans used to balance out the District Plan may instead be overruled by it. Though this prioritisation of

RMA related policies and plans may be useful when considering the natural environment, it seems that it may be less helpful in urban environments where such prioritisation may result in minimum car parking provisions being prioritised ahead of the development of vibrant, compact neighbourhood centres that have higher amenity and deliver across numerous sites.

Overall, it seems that the Inner City East's experience with urban intensification is not dissimilar to that of other countries, with higher-density developments often failing to meet residents needs due to the misalignment of planning tools and a lack of recognition of, or provision for communities various and diverse needs. The following section will whether or how the greater use of various forms of collaboration might help to better address these tensions and achieve more liveable higher-density developments.

7.3 Collaboration as a solution to current tensions

As was highlighted in chapter 2, it has been suggested that collaboration can be used to address some of the tensions around urban intensification. For example, it is purported that collaboration between governments and community members can help to ensure that higher-density developments better meet the needs of potential and existing residents and are thus more widely supported and accepted (Davison, 2011; Norman & Sinclair, 2014; Vallance, Perkins, & Dixon, 2009). This is in line with the notion that in order for higher density developments to be seen as liveable and to be supported by local communities, there is a need to understand how these communities view, define, and engage with their neighbourhoods (Allen et al., 2018) and to recognise and provide for their diverse needs (Mouratidis, 2017). It has also been suggested that collaboration can be used to coordinate and align planning tools or agendas (Healey, 1998; McCarthy et al., 2019). Given the findings that planning in the Inner City East has faced issues both in terms of achieving higher-density developments that meet residents needs and in terms of coordinating planning tools and agendas, it seems that there may be value in adopting more collaborative planning approaches in the Inner City East. This is an idea that will be explored further below. However, it is perhaps useful to first return to the notion of 'collaboration' and to highlight some of the various meanings given to the term.

The International Association of Public Participation's Spectrum of Public Participation suggests that when collaborating the goal is "to partner with the public in each aspect of the decision" (IAP2, 2018, p.1). This suggests that collaboration involves shifting the balance of power so that the public and decision-makers can be treated as equal partners, it also suggests that the focus is primarily on collaboration between the public and decision-makers. Friedmann (2010) expressed a similar notion when suggesting that communities and governments needed to be treated as equals and given the opportunity to engage in authentic dialogue. Davison (2011) has focussed specifically on

collaboration between planners, developers, community members, and other stakeholders, suggesting that collaboration between these individuals and groups is needed in order to achieve more liveable and widely supported urban intensification. Davison (2011) has argued that such collaboration needs to allow for two-way communication and learning so that concerns can be raised, conflicting views addressed, and consensus built. This is in line with the notion that the world is very complex and that there is no public good, thus it is important to engage the public and other stakeholders alongside planners and policy-makers to gain a broader understanding of places, to address conflicting views, and to collectively develop solutions (Friedmann, 2010; Healey, 2010).

Healey (1999) and McCarthy et al. (2019) have also supported the use of collaboration in urban planning, but have suggested that it needs to occur within governments as well as between governments, communities, and other stakeholders. It is suggested that such intragovernmental collaboration is needed to ensure that planning tools are well coordinated with one another, so as to achieve better integration of various agendas (Healey, 1999) and to avoid the development of contradictory plans with unachievable objectives (McCarthy et al., 2019). This notion of the need for collaboration within governments stems from the view that planning tools are often developed in silos, with different departments responsible for carrying out different tasks and achieving different goals (Healey, 1999; McCarthy et al., 2019). Recognising that these planning tools, when operationalised, intersect with one another in places such as the Inner City East, it is suggested that there is a need for greater integration of agendas and coordination of planning tools during the development process (Healey, 1999; McCarthy et al., 2019)

Whilst it is seems that external collaboration and internal collaboration are suggested to be used to address different planning issues, the two forms of collaboration share a number of commonalities. For example, they are both informed by the notion that different groups or individuals have different opinions and agendas and that collaboration is needed in order to recognise and address these differences (Healey, 1999, 2010). These notions of collaboration also seem to share a common view that those involved in the collaborative process need to be involved throughout the decision-making process, be given opportunities to discuss ideas and concerns, and be given a genuine opportunity to influence decisions (Davison, 2011; Friedmann, 2010; Healey, 1999). It seems that the specific methods used to collaborate, and the specific people to be involved, may depend on the specific place in question, and the specific issues to be addressed. Keeping these various notions of collaboration in mind, the following sections will examine the nature and extent of collaboration taking place in the Inner City East. This includes examining the types of collaboration occurring between national and local government, and the public and other stakeholders, as well as the types of collaboration occurring within and between different levels of government.

7.3.1 Public participation in the Inner City East

As was highlighted in chapters 4 and 5, it appears that there are a number of ways in which the public are engaged in decision making processes relating to planning tools impacting the Inner City East. It appears that a significant number of key planning tools impacting on the Inner City East use forms of engagement that would fall under 'consult' on the International Association of Public Participation's Spectrum of Public Participation. This is generally the case for planning tools such as the current National Policy Statement on Urban Development, the former National Policy Statement on Urban Development Capacity, the Canterbury Regional Policy Statement (RMA 1991), the Long Term Plan, the Annual Plan, and the Christchurch District Plan (LGA 2002). In such instances, members of the public are generally first engaged in the decision-making process once a draft plan or policy has been created. Once the draft policy or plan is made publicly available, members of the public are then given a set amount of time to have their say and provide feedback on the proposed policy or plan. After the feedback period has ended, the decision-makers then reflect on the feedback received and adjust their proposed plan as they see fit.

The International Association of Public Participation (2018) suggests that in undertaking this 'consult' method of public engagement, the promise to the public is that they will be informed and their views will be heard and acknowledged. Such public engagement does not necessarily allow for the deliberative discussion and collective construction of meaning and place that Davison (2011) and Healey (1998) suggest is important for overcoming issues around urban planning and intensification. This method of 'consult' also does not necessarily enable opportunities for social learning, conflict resolution, relationship building, capacity building, or the development of hybrid, place-specific solutions, which are also considered to be useful for addressing issues around urban intensification (Davison, 2011).

Furthermore, a member of the Inner City East Revitalisation Plan Working Group suggested that, when they themselves had made submissions to express their concerns during formal consultation processes, it did not always seem that their concerns were genuinely heard or acknowledged. In such instances, it was suggested that public engagement used was more in line with 'inform' and 'consult'. A similar notion was expressed by a Christchurch City Council Urban Designer who, in relation to the development of the most recent Christchurch District Plan, suggested that the consultation process was not a particularly friendly process and therefore the public were not particularly encouraged to participate. Both of these examples are consistent with criticisms and concerns around the use of public participation and in particular the view that if participants are not given genuine opportunities to be heard and to impact decisions, then public engagement is merely a form of manipulation (Lane, 2006; Rosol, 2014; Vallance et al., 2009).

Nevertheless, though many of the planning tools impacting the Inner City East area employ a form of public engagement in line with 'consult' on the Spectrum of Public Participation, a senior planner at the Christchurch City Council suggested that other informal methods of public engagement may be undertaken in advance of these formal consultation processes. They suggested that such pre-consultation might employ forms of public engagement that were more in consistent with 'involve' on the Spectrum of Public Participation. This kind of engagement was said to be achieved through workshops or focus groups, where people were able to express and discuss their thoughts and ideas before a 'straw man' or draft plan was established for formal consultation. What this suggests is that, in some instances, there is still flexibility to employ additional methods of engagement, outside of the formally required engagement processes, that allow for two way discussion and deliberation that Davison (2011) and Healey (1998) suggest is important for addressing tensions around urban planning and intensification.

Alongside these informal methods of engagement, there were also a number of examples of planning tools that employed other forms of engagement that allowed for the community to have a greater role in the planning and decision-making process. For example, the Linwood Village Master Plan engaged the community both before and after the development of the draft plan to ensure the communities views were recognised and at least somewhat visible in the final plan. By engaging the community throughout the process to ensure their views were understood and considered, the plan employed a process of engagement more in line with 'involve' on the Spectrum of Public Participation. Similarly, a member of the Inner City East Revitalisation Plan Working Group suggested that the community-led Inner City East Revitalisation Plan also undertook community engagement that was more in line with 'involve' on the spectrum of public participation. However, they also advised that it was not always clear whether, or to what degree, such community engagement would be employed by the council to inform planning in the Inner City East area. This seems to be a challenge for both the revitalisation plan and the master plan as they are non-statutory plans and thus depend on voluntary adoption by councils, developers, and members of the public.

Overall it appears that there are variety of ways in which public engagement is undertaken when developing planning tools that impact the Inner City East, with 'consult' being the most commonly used form of engagement. Interestingly, it seems that forms of engagement more in line with notions of collaboration are most commonly employed during informal engagement processes or during the development of non-statutory plans. The following section will now explore the effects of such planning approaches, and will also consider how they might be improved in the future.

7.3.2 Improvements to public participation in the Inner City East

As was highlighted above, current approaches to urban intensification in the Inner City East are not always seen to be achieving developments that meet the needs of residents. It is suggested that this is in part due to a strong focus on the biophysical environment and a lack of focus on the other aspects that contribute to a places liveability and sustainability. Given the view that greater collaboration can help to establish higher-density developments that also meet the diverse needs of residents and are thus more widely supported, it bares considering whether planning in the Inner City East could be improved through the use of greater collaboration.

When interviewing participants for this research, four out of five participants expressed the view that planning in the Inner City East could be improved through the use of greater engagement and collaboration between the public and different levels of government. Reasons for this included the need to achieve better social outcomes, to ensure that the existing community's needs and wants were acknowledged, and to enable the community's unique knowledge and insight to be recognised and utilised. A good example of this was given by a member of the Inner City East Revitalisation Plan Working Group. They suggested that if the local community had been given more time and opportunity to express their views and concerns about a proposed cycleway in their area, then they would have been able to avoid some of the issues now arising from the completed cycleway. These include issues around rubbish collection, car parking availability, and cyclist safety (CCC, 2019b). These views seem to support the notion that greater collaboration is required in order to better recognise and provide for people's needs and wants, and thus to address the current tensions around urban intensification. This raises questions around what greater collaboration would or should look like in the Inner City East.

When advocating for greater collaboration between the public and national or local government, a number of interviewees highlighted the need to ensure that the types of engagement being employed were appropriate for the specific people who were to be engaged. This was thought to be of particular significance for communities with high levels of deprivation, such as the Inner City East, who might not necessarily have the means to access certain forms of engagement, for example, online submissions. This view is in line with the notion that, unless the public have a real opportunity to influence decision-making, public participation may be merely a form of placation and manipulation (Lane, 2006). It is suggested that in order to avoid such placation or manipulation forms of engagement need to be made accessible to all affected parties and that there needs to be a shift in power so that the public are able to engage in two way dialogue (Lane, 2006), enabling social learning, conflict resolution, and collective shaping of place (Davison, 2011; Gallent & Twedwr-Jones, 2007; Healey, 1998). As was detailed in section 7.3.1, recent opportunities for public engagement

have not tended to enable such accessible engagement or two way dialogue, and have in some instances been seen to be quite unfriendly and disingenuous, with participants' views not truly heard or acknowledged.

The notion of placemaking closely relates to the view that planning in the Inner City East needs to better recognise the way in which the area is used and perceived, and to better meet the needs of the local community. For example, placemaking is concerned with the need to engage communities and governments to collectively determine how people perceive and engage with places, and to understand how the tangible and intangible qualities of places can be improved to suit the people who inhabit the places and to develop a collective sense of place (Sweeney et al., 2018; Teder, 2017). Though such a process may be costly and time consuming, it is suggested that over time placemaking can help to connect and engage stakeholders so that they are better equipped to collectively make decisions, utilise opportunities, and avoid negative impacts (Healey, 1998).

Considering the findings that current approaches to urban intensification are not always meeting the various needs of the Inner City East community, nor recognising the area's important qualities, it seems that there could be value in employing the concept of placemaking when undertaking planning in the area. The concept of placemaking also seems helpful given Allen et al.'s (2018) findings that, alongside the provision of amenities, a strong sense of identity is a particularly important factor for ensuring that higher-density neighbourhoods are liveable and successful.

The Christchurch City Council's development of a *shape your place toolkit* somewhat reflects this notion of placemaking, with the intention being that the toolkit will support communities to create visions, plans, and objectives for their neighbourhood (CCC, n.d.e.). An Urban Regeneration Planner at Christchurch City Council suggested that two Christchurch suburbs, Diamond Harbour and Little River, had both used the toolkit and had subsequently seen some of their desired outcomes adopted into the latest Long Term Plan. This seems to be a positive example of how communities' views can and are being recognised and reflected in plans. It is also a good example of how important it is for planning tools to be able to 'talk to' one another, particularly non-statutory planning tools such as those developed using the shape your place toolkit, which have no formal or statutory relationship with other plans.

In summary, it seems that planning tools impacting the Inner City East currently often employ a process of engagement that is in line with 'consult' on the spectrum of public participation, where it is suggested that the promise to the public is that they will be informed and their views will be acknowledged (IAP2, 2018). This form of engagement does not necessarily allow for the partnership nor the deliberation and sharing of ideas that have been suggested to benefit decision-making around urban planning and intensification. Though there were a few instances where the public had

been engaged and given a greater level of influence in the decision-making process, it seems that the planning tools they were impacting tended to be non-statutory, and thus were reliant on voluntary uptake.

In line with existing literature, the majority of interview participants suggested that planning for urban intensification in the Inner City East could be improved through the use of greater public engagement and collaboration between governments, communities, and other stakeholders. It was suggested that this engagement needed to be appropriate for the Inner City East community and that it needed to allow the community genuine opportunities to be heard and to influence decisions. It was thought that this would help to ensure plans better recognised the important characteristics of the Inner City East, and also the specific needs of the people who lived there. Given these concerns, it seems that the concept of placemaking may be of use when planning for urban intensification. In particular, placemaking that involves collaboration between governments, communities and other stakeholders. However, as it has been suggested that there is often currently poor alignment between different plans, it seems there is also a need for collaboration within governments and other groups or organisations. This notion of the need for greater collaboration within and between different levels of government will be explored further in the following section.

7.3.3 Intergovernmental and intragovernmental collaboration

The findings from chapter 5 demonstrated that there are a significant number of planning tools impacting on the Inner City East area. These include national, regional, district, and neighbourhood level planning tools, some of which are statutory and some of which are non-statutory. Many of these tools were established under different acts or regulations, with distinct purposes or outcomes to be achieved, and with various different individuals, departments and workstreams given responsibility for their development and execution. Many of these planning provisions also have different forms of funding and different development and implementation processes, including different processes around what kind of public engagement should take place at what time.

As was demonstrated in figure 3, a number of the key planning tools impacting the Inner City East are legally required to give some degree of recognition to one another, and thus in a sense must ‘talk to’ and coordinate with one another. For example, it may be a legal requirement that planning tools have to help to achieve the purpose of other planning tools, or must not be inconsistent with other planning tools, or must take other planning tools into account (Quality Planning, 2017). In this way, there is some degree of legislated coordination between plans. However, as was highlighted above, there are still instances where planning tools do not align with one another. In the Inner City East this seems to particularly be the case with District Plans and non-statutory plans such as the Linwood Village Master Plan and the Inner City East Revitalisation Plan. However, it is also thought to

sometimes be the case with RMA plans and policies and LGA plans and policies (Quality Planning, 2012). This is perhaps unsurprising given that there is often no legal requirement for the District Plan to consider or align with non-statutory plans, and there is only a requirement that District Plans have regard to management plans that have been developed under other acts, such as the Long Term Plan which has been developed under the LGA (Quality Planning, 2017).

Overall it seems that there are a myriad of planning tools impacting the Inner City East, some of which have clear statutory relationships with one another and some of which do not. The following section will consider whether or how greater collaboration could be used to improve the coordination and alignment of planning tools in the Inner City East.

7.3.4 Improvements to inter and intragovernmental collaboration

Healey (1998) and McCarthy et al. (2019) have suggested that a lack of coordination between planning provisions can often be the result of a separation between different sectors which have their own policy fields or focusses. In recognition of the limitations of this siloed approach to policy and plan development and the need for greater coordination between plans, Healey (1998) and McCarthy at el. (2019) have suggested that more collaborative planning methods be adopted. It is suggested that this can help to enable greater integration of various agendas (Healey, 1998), whilst also avoiding the development of contradictory plans with unachievable goals or objectives (McCarthy et al., 2019). Importantly, it is suggested that this collaboration needs to be both between governments, communities, and other stakeholders, and also within governments (Healey, 1998; McCarthy et al., 2019).

Given the current misalignment between plans in the Inner City East, it appears that there may be value in adopting a more collaborative approach to planning. This seems to be particularly the case for non-statutory plans, such as the Linwood Village Master Plan or the Inner City East Revitalisation Plan, which have no formal or statutory relationship to other planning tools, other than the need to abide by statutory planning tools. Given that plans such as the Linwood Village Master Plan and the Christchurch District Plan, both of which were developed by the Christchurch City Council, did not align with one another, the notion that collaboration also needs to also be employed within levels of government seems particularly pertinent.

The concept of placemaking also seems to be of relevance for addressing issues with intergovernmental and intragovernmental collaboration, and with the coordination of plans. The reason for this is that, due to its holistic understanding of place, placemaking is purported to help with integrating and coordinating different agendas and negotiating conflicting views (Healey, 1998; Tedder, 2017). Furthermore, it is thought that placemaking can help to encourage communication

and collaboration between participants, and that over time it can also contribute to the building of relationships within and between different individuals, groups, and organisations (Healey, 1998; Tedder, 2017).

Overall, it seems that there is currently a lack of integration and alignment of planning tools, and that this misalignment is thought to be contributing to poor social or community outcomes. It has been suggested that such poor alignment of planning tools can be addressed through the use of greater collaboration within and between different levels of government so that different planning tools, and different agendas can be coordinated (McCarthy et al., 2019). Though it is suggested that planning tools such as Project 8011 can be used to coordinate plans, it seems that on their own they are not able to coordinate the myriad of plans impacting on places such as the Inner City East. Furthermore, these aligning instruments still tend to be bound by the statutory District Plan.

7.4 Summary

This research has demonstrated that, as has been the case for studies across the world, planning for urban intensification in the Inner City East has often led to the establishment of higher-density developments that meet the physical requirements detailed in the District Plan, but do not meet the needs or wants of residents. These include the desire or need for community cohesion and connectedness, for the provision of sufficient greenspace and amenity, and for protection of neighbourhood character.

The findings suggest that planning in the Inner City East could be improved through the use of greater engagement between governments, communities, and other stakeholders so as to ensure that the communities needs and wants are heard, acknowledged, and used to inform the decisions. Interview participants also highlighted that this engagement needs to be place-specific, and it needs to ensure that participants are given a genuine opportunity to influence decisions, rather than merely using public engagement as a way to manipulate participants. The findings also suggest is that there is a need for greater collaboration within and between different levels of governments in order to address current issues with the alignment of plans and the coordination of various agendas. This was exemplified by the number of interview participants who felt that planning tools in the Inner City East often did not align with, and in some instances contradicted one another.

It appears that the notion of placemaking, and in particular placemaking that engages community members, governments, and other stakeholders, could be a particularly useful tool for addressing some of these challenges. This is due to its focus on bringing different groups together in order to integrate and coordinate various social, cultural, economic, and environmental agendas, and to

develop a shared understanding and sense of neighbourhood identity, wherein people's perceptions of and aspirations for places can be acknowledged.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

The aim of this research was to explore the nature of collaboration used for planning and in particular, who and what should be involved when and how, in order to address the diverse tensions around urban intensification. The findings of this research support the notion that collaboration is important for helping to address tensions around urban intensification. They suggest that this collaboration needs to happen both between and within different groups and organisations so as to develop planning tools that align with one another and that better recognise the diverse needs of communities. Though it is suggested that the exact methods used for such collaboration will vary depending on the specific people and place involved, it seems that there is a need for collaboration that involves ongoing two-way communication and deliberation that allows for the sharing of different views and knowledge, and enables learning in all directions. This collaboration also needs to allow for all participants to have a genuine opportunity to influence decisions.

8.2 Implications of research

The findings of this research have a number of implications for both theory and practice. In terms of practice, the findings have significant implications for the desire to achieve higher-density, compact cities. In particular, they highlight the need to focus on all aspects of a place, rather than merely on its bio-physical characteristics. Therefore, in order to achieve the goal of having more compact, and thus environmentally sustainable cities, there is also a need to ensure that compact cities are socially, culturally, and economically sustainable. This research suggests that, in order to achieve such social, cultural, economic, and environmental sustainability, a collaborative planning approach will need to be used. More specifically, the results from this research suggest that there needs to be collaboration between governments and other interest groups, and also within different levels of governments. This collaboration can help to recognise the varying, and sometimes conflicting or competing views, interests, and aspirations of different people in a place, and to enable negotiation, integration, and coordination of these various views or agendas.

Regarding implications for theory, the research findings suggest that the notion of placemaking can be a useful tool for addressing issues with urban intensification. In particular, placemaking's ability to recognise the qualities of places and to develop a collectively held sense of place, its ability to integrate and coordinate various agendas, and its ability to build governance cultures. Whilst it has been suggested that there are numerous forms of placemaking involving different groups or

individuals, it seems that the placemaking required to address issues of urban intensification needs to involve all the people who interact with and shape places, so as to ensure a coordinated effort and a collective understanding of place. This means that there is a need to involve governments, communities, and other stakeholders. This is not to say that there is not also a place for more informal, individual forms of placemaking, but that more formal placemaking that involves a wide range of individuals, groups, and organisations is also important when addressing tensions around urban intensification.

Though this specific research was focussed on collaborative planning for urban intensification, the research findings also have implications for theory in relation to collaborative planning in general. Specifically, these research findings highlight the importance of using internal collaboration within governments alongside external collaboration between governments, communities, developers, and other stakeholders. Regardless of the particular plan, policy, or strategy being developed, it is clear that there is a need to ensure that different government departments or sectors work together with one another to share ideas and coordinate their different agendas. If such internal collaboration does not take place there is a risk that, regardless of the level of external collaboration employed during their development, planning tools may be ineffective due to their contradictory aims and unachievable goals.

8.3 Future research

The findings of this research raise a number of questions for future research. In particular, these findings raise questions about the type of governance structure required to enable effective collaboration within and between communities, governments, and other stakeholders. The arrangement between the Christchurch City Council and the Inner City East Revitalisation Plan Working Group, wherein council staff attend working group meetings and provide assistance and advice on council processes, may provide a good basis for this research as it seems to be a useful tool for helping the community to understand and engage with council processes, whilst also enabling council staff to learn more about community concerns and aspirations. It would be valuable to know how other stakeholders might be involved in such an arrangement, and how the council staff might also communicate and collaborate with other teams or departments within the city council.

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Appendix A

Interview documents

A.1 Email to scope interest

Dear XXXX,

My name is Leah McEnhill and I am a Master of Planning student at Lincoln University. I am writing to invite you to participate in my research project titled *Central City Housing or Central City Living? A study of how statutory and non-statutory planning provisions address the tensions around urban intensification.* I have invited you to participate in this project because of your XXXX.

The objective of this research project is to assess the extent to which statutory and non-statutory planning tools combined address tensions around urban intensification. Within this broader programme of work, my research seeks to identify and document the ways in which the council, community organisations, residents, and local business interests are working to develop and revitalise Christchurch's Inner City East area.

The study is completely voluntary, and you can choose to be in the study or not. With your permission, I would like to email you a research information sheet which has all the details along with contact names and numbers to assist you in making a decision about your participation in this study.

Thank you very much for your time. Please do not hesitate to ask if you have any further questions.

Kind regards,
Leah McEnhill

A.2 Research information sheet

Dear XXXX,

I would like to invite you to participate in a research project titled *Central City Housing or Central City Living? A study of how statutory and non-statutory planning provisions address the tensions around urban intensification.*

The objective of this research project is to assess the extent to which statutory and non-statutory planning tools combined address the tensions around urban intensification. Within this broader programme of work, our research seeks to identify and document the ways in which the council, community organisations, residents, and local business interests are working to develop and revitalise the Inner City East area.

I have invited you to participate in the project because of your role as XXXX. Your participation in the research is voluntary and you may decline to answer any questions. If you choose to participate, we will arrange a suitable time for an interview which may take 30 minutes to 1 hour. This interview will be undertaken via a skype, zoom, or phone call, depending on your preference. You may withdraw from the project, including any information you have provided, up to 5 weeks after your interview by contacting me (Leah McEnhill) or my supervisor (Suzanne Vallance) through the contact details below.

The results of the project may be published so you may choose to keep your name, identity and role confidential, known only to members of the research team. Any consent forms, interview transcripts or recordings will be stored electronically on password protected computers, accessible only by the researcher and their supervisor. You will have the opportunity to review any information attributed to you in published form and confirm the level of anonymity you require on a case by case basis.

If you have any queries or concerns about your participation in the project, please contact me or my supervisor. We are happy to discuss any concerns you have about your participation in the project.

Researcher: Leah McEnhill, Master of Planning student, Lincoln University
Email: XXXX
Phone: XXXX

Supervisor: Suzanne Vallance, Senior Lecturer, Lincoln University

Email: XXXX

This project has been reviewed and approved by Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee.

A.3 Consent form

Name of the project: *Central City Housing or Central City Living? A study of how statutory and non-statutory planning provisions address the tensions around urban intensification.*

The objective of this research project is to assess the extent to which statutory and non-statutory planning tools combined address the tensions around urban intensification. Within this broader programme of work, our research seeks to identify and document the ways in which the council, community organisations, residents, and local business interests are working to develop and revitalise the Inner City East area.

I agree to participate in the project, and I consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that a) confidentiality will be preserved if requested and b) I will have the opportunity to review any quotations attributed to me before publication. I also understand that I may withdraw from the project up to 5 weeks after my interview (including withdrawal of any information I have provided) by contacting the researcher.
I provide consent to (please tick one or all of the following options):

Having an audio recording taken ☐

Having notes taken of the interview ☐

Being identified by name ☐

Being identified by my profession or role ☐ _____

Any other requests from participant about confidentiality and anonymity:

_____

Name: Date:

Signed: _____

The project has been reviewed and approved by Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee

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A.4 Interview questions for public planners and urban designers

1. Can you tell me a bit about your role at Christchurch City Council?
2. How have you been involved with planning for the Inner City East (ICE)?
3. Are you familiar with the ICE (show ICE map) and the District Plan (DP)/Long Term Plan (LTP) provisions?
4. In general, how might communities like the ICE participate in DP/LTP reviews. Any examples?
5. Where on the IAP2 spectrum (show image of IAP2 spectrum) would you place the DP/LTP, and why?
6. Are you aware of any issues associated with the ICE that are important to consider in the context of DP/LTP reviews? Any examples?
7. How might DP/LTP provisions address these issues? Any examples?
8. How might DP/LTP provisions exacerbate these issues? Any examples?
9. Do you know about any other non-RMA/DP plans or projects going on in the ICE?
10. To what extent or how do the different plans align (or not)? Any examples of it working well/not working well?
11. How do you think planning for the ICE could be improved?

A.5 Interview questions for community workers

1. Can you tell me a bit about your connection to the Inner City East (ICE)? How long have you been involved with/ lived or worked in the ICE neighbourhood?
2. What are the things you like about the ICE?
3. What are the main issues facing the ICE?
4. Do you know of any plans or projects going on that affect the ICE?

5. Where on the IAP2 spectrum (show image of IAP2 spectrum) would you place each of these plans or projects?
6. How are you or how have you participated in the development and/or implementation of these plans and projects?
7. How do you think these plans and projects address the issues facing the ICE?
8. How do you think these plans and projects exacerbate the issues facing the ICE?
9. To what extent do you think these plans and projects do or do not align?
10. How do you think planning for the ICE could be improved?